Alfred Barr at MOMA

The New Criterion

Summer 1987

"Our Campaigns"

Alfred H. Barr, Jr., and the Museum of Modern Art: a biographical chronicle of the years 1930-1944
by Margaret Scolari Barr

With a chronicle of the years 1902-1929
by Rona Roob

Introduction *by Hilton Kramer*

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giacometti 1948 · 50 · 58 · 61 · 64

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miró 1932 · 33 · 35 · 36 · 38 · 39 · 40 · 41 · 42 · 44 · 45 · 45 · 47 · 48 · 49 · 50 · 51 · 51 · 1953 · 56 · 58 · 59 · 61 · 63 · 65 · 67 · 70 · 72 · 73 · 75 · 76 · 76 · 78 · 80 · 83 · 85 · 8

riopelle 1954 · 56 · 69 · 74 · 74 · 77 · 85

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Alfred Barr at MOMA: an introduction

by Hilton Kramer

It has long been recognized that the career of the late Alfred H. Barr, Jr. was an uncommonly important one. As the founding director of the Museum of Modern Art in New York and the man most responsible for assembling its incomparable collections and for devising its influential exhibition programs, Barr played a greater role than any other figure in our history in shaping our understanding of the artistic achievements of the modern age. In the institution he created at MOMA, he succeeded in making those achievements an integral part of American cultural life, and in the standards he set for the scholarly study of modern art, he laid the foundations for an intellectual discipline that could hardly be said to have existed before him. It was not only on the cultural life of the public and on the world of scholarship and connoisseurship, moreover, that Barr's audacious innovations had a far-reaching effect. His work also widened the aesthetic horizons of every generation of American artists—and of artists elsewhere, too—from the 1930s to the present day. It thus played a creative role in the life of art in his day, and continues to do so today.

It requires a certain sense of history, however, for us to grasp the nature of Barr's achievement, for much that he initiated is now taken for granted. Sixty years after Barr introduced his undergraduate course in modern art at Wellesley College, there is hardly a college or university in the country that does not offer a full program of courses in the subject. And the kind of museum he created in MOMA has likewise had a permanent influence on the way our art museums conceive of their tasks, and of the public to which they are addressed. It is now assumed as a matter of course that museums will take a keen interest in the art of our time, for example, but in this matter—as in others—Barr was the outstanding pioneer. So was he also in the presentation of that art. The methods he introduced into exhibition installation, the catalogues he wrote to accompany his exhibitions, the special combination of historical scholarship and accessible instruction that he made the hallmark of the museum's publications and even of its wall labels—in these and many other radical initiatives, Barr transformed the American art museum, making it at once a more vital component of contemporary cultural life and an essential adjunct to art itself. By doing so, he gave the art museum a new role. No longer was it to be regarded as a refuge from the conflicts and controversies of contemporary life. Henceforth it would take up its mission at the very crossroads where tradition and innovation meet, and act as a guide to the present as well as to the past.

Such a program was bound to encounter some resistance, both within the museum and outside it, and it often did. It is worth recalling, in this connection, that for much of Barr's career the press in this country was generally unenlightened about—when not,

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indeed, overtly hostile to—modern art. (The current love affair between the media and what passes for an avant-garde did not materialize until the real avant-garde was safely dead.) Even among wealthy collectors of modern art, moreover, taste tended to be timid and belated, and often hostage to the fear of scandal and ridicule. As a result, Barr's policies were frequently attacked, his judgment questioned, and his motives misunderstood or misrepresented.

As the director of MOMA, Barr became both an eminence and a target. His authority was formidable, but so were the forces arrayed against him. He inspired intense loyalty, but also some equally intense enmity. Much to his distaste, in fact, he became—as people in positions of power often do—something of a myth, and it is in the nature of such myths to invite a sometimes ugly process of de-mythification. There was no way for a man of his vision and his convictions to avoid being a controversial figure, and in truth he has remained one down to the present day. What this means, of course, is that Barr's achievements are still a vital—and a vitally contested—part of contemporary cultural life.

Six years after his death and twenty years after his retirement from the museum, the complex story of Alfred Barr's life and work is only just beginning to be told. Our understanding of both has been greatly enhanced by the recent publication of a sizable collection of his writings—*Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.,* edited by Irving Sandler and Amy Newman (Abrams, 1986), which also contains a chronology by Jane Fluegel and a complete "Bibliography of Published Writings" compiled by Rona Roob. A comprehensive biography is still to be written, however. It is in the interest of making a preliminary but indispensable contribution to this challenging task that we are devoting this special issue of *The New Criterion* to Margaret Scolari Barr's chronicle of the years 1930-1944, together with Rona Roob's documentary account of Barr's earlier life and career. Much of what appears in these chronicles is now published for the first time.

Mrs. Barr is uniquely qualified for the task she has undertaken here. As her title—"Our Campaigns"—suggests, she was a close collaborator in much of the major work that her late husband carried out in the period under review.[1] Although she never occupied an official position at the museum, Mrs. Barr was nonetheless—as the reader of her chronicle will soon discover—a crucial contributor to its development as well as a keen observer of its fluctuating fortunes. She is herself an art historian who taught for many years at the Spence School in New York. At the time of her marriage to Alfred Barr in 1930, she had been offered a position that could have led to her becoming the director of the art museum at Smith College. Her pioneering monograph on the Italian sculptor Medardo Rosso (1858-1928) was the first study of the artist to appear in English and remains today the definitive work on Rosso. She is also a gifted linguist and translator, and it was in this capacity especially that she came to play a key role in Alfred Barr's professional life. As she is fluent in many languages and Barr was not, she served as his interpreter in virtually all of his meetings with the luminaries of the European art world. Her knowledge of these encounters, which often involved intricate negotiations and arduous research for the historic exhibitions Barr was organizing for MOMA, is thus an intimate one. And so too, of course, is her knowledge of the behind-the-scenes vicissitudes of the museum itself. As a European, moreover, she brought a perspective to these matters that was somewhat different from that of her husband's American colleagues.

Margaret Scolari was born in Rome in 1901, and lived there until she left to take up

1 Alfred Barr's *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art* (Museum of Modern Art, 1946) carries the following dedication: "for my wife/Margaret Scolari-Fitzmaurice/advisor and invaluable assistant in the Picasso campaigns of 1931, 1932, 1936, 1939."

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a teaching job at Vassar College in 1925. Her mother was Irish, a Protestant from southern Ireland who was also gifted at languages. Her father, an antiques dealer, was an Italian from Bassano who died in the First World War when Marga (as she was later called) was fifteen. In Rome, while still completing her university studies, she went to work at the American Embassy as a bilingual secretary in the office of the naval attaché. It was this connection that led to her appointment as a teacher of Italian at Vassar.

While teaching at Vassar and partly as a way of outwitting the restrictive immigration laws, she continued her studies, taking an M.A. in art history and enrolling in courses for a doctorate at New York University. Alfred Barr, who had been teaching at Vassar, had left before Marga's arrival, and it was through mutual friends that she first heard about him and then met him soon after the Museum of Modern Art opened. It is at that point in their lives, when they meet and marry, that Mrs. Barr takes up the story she now recounts for us in these pages.

For an account of Alfred Barr's earlier years we have turned to Rona Roob, the archivist at the Museum of Modern Art who first worked with Barr from 1961 to 1965, when he was director of museum collections at MOMA, and then again, after his retirement, from 1969 to 1972. Mrs. Roob, who is an art historian as well as an archivist and librarian, has been responsible for processing the voluminous Alfred Barr Papers at MOMA, and has an unrivaled knowledge of them. In the essay she published four years ago—"1936: The Museum Selects an Architect. Excerpts from the Barr Papers of the Museum of Modern Art," in the *Archives of American Art Journal,* 1983—she had already given us an extraordinary document that does much to illuminate the early history of the museum and the ideas that Barr brought to it. In the present chronicle, Mrs. Roob has provided us with a vivid account not only of Barr's intellectual apprenticeship but of the entire academic and museum milieu in which he acquired his knowledge and experience as a scholar and connoisseur.

Finally, a word about how these chronicles came to be written. It was as a result of some informal and unofficial conversations between Mrs. Barr and Mrs. Roob concerning the Alfred Barr Papers that Mrs. Barr began, with Mrs. Roob's encouragement, the long labor of providing out of her own experience some of the details of her husband's career at the museum. Soon after this project was begun, there was some discussion of a course to be given at Princeton—Barr's alma mater—that would deal in part with the history of the Barr years at the Museum of Modern Art, and in order to provide information for that course, Mrs. Barr and Mrs. Roob accelerated their collaboration in providing a year-by-year chronology of Alfred Barr's activities. When the first phase of that work was completed, its existence was called to our attention by two friends—Sydney Freedberg of the National Gallery of Art and Ruth Berenson of the National Endowment for the Arts. In response to our request, both Mrs. Barr and Mrs. Roob agreed to amplify their research for publication in this issue of *The New Criterion,* and it is with considerable pride that we now offer their chronicles to our readers.

It should be borne in mind that the period encompassed by "Our Campaigns" was the period that saw the rise of fascism and the waging of the Second World War in Europe—events that were a constant source of acute concern to the participants in this story. It should also be mentioned that there is, of course, more to the story of Alfred Barr's career at MOMA—specifically, the story of the years following 1944—than we have space to recount here. We hope that the entire manuscript will eventually be published in book form. There are certain careers in every generation that mark a turning point in our history, and Alfred Barr's was surely one of them. What that career achieved—and also, what some of the human costs of that achievement were—is the tale we are pleased to offer our readers in this special issue.

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Alfred H. Barr, Jr.: a chronicle of the years 1902-1929

by Rona Roob

1902

January 28
Alfred H. Barr, Jr. born Detroit, Michigan to Alfred H. Barr, Sr. (1868-1935), Presbyterian minister and graduate of Princeton (B.A. 1889; M.A. 1892; B.D., Princeton Theological Seminary, 1896) and to Annie Elizabeth Wilson Barr (1868-1961), who attended Vassar College (1887-89). Both parents are descendants of families from southern Scotland. (There is a castle Barr located near Prestwick, Scotland, in County Ayr.)

The family house is on Concord Street, next to the Detroit University School. Dr. Barr is pastor (1896-1911) of the Jefferson Avenue Church.

1911-1912

Barr family moves to Baltimore, where Dr. Barr has been appointed minister of the First Presbyterian Church. The family lives in the manse adjoining the church. Alfred and his younger brother Andrew[1] attend the Boys' Latin School. At school, Barr becomes a friend of Edward S. King; they will be inseparable for many years.[2]

Barr collects tin soldiers and with his brother and friends he re-stages classic battles such as Gettysburg and Waterloo. He also collects stamps; "have about eighteen hundred stamps," he writes in his diary.

On Sundays he goes to church regularly, a habit that does not persist later in life. In 1912, at age ten, he writes in his diary that on Saturdays he either learns German, writes "a poem with five verses four lines each, [makes] some paper soldiers, [reads] the History of Rome" or goes to Washington: "First we went to the . . . museum, then to the zoo."

1913

February 15-March 15
The Armory Show, the first major international exhibition of modern art in New York.

1915

With his mother, Barr visits a gallery on Mt. Vernon Place, Baltimore, and sees his first modern paintings. Later writes: ". . . deeply impressed and enthusiastic about [Joseph Stella's] *Coney Island* . . . the only picture in the exhibition that I can remember."

1 Andrew Barr was born in Detroit, Michigan on April 8, 1905.

2 Barr and King would later room together at Princeton and work together at a summer camp in Vermont. In 1946, King became director of the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore.

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Barr family spends first summer in Greensboro, Vermont. It is a remote, hard-to-reach town in the northern part of the state, inhabited by farmers, some of whom have migrated south from Canada, and by people whose professions allow for long summer vacations. The Barrs will spend every summer in Greensboro, eventually buying a house there (in 1927), which remains in the family to this day.

1918

June 7
Graduates *cum laude* as Head Boy from Boys' Latin School, Baltimore, and delivers valedictory. He is described in *The Ink Well,* the Boys' Latin School paper (of which he is editor), as:

> a sincere nut of the silent but deadly type. Steadfast, calm, has a very clear insight and is remarkably well read. His knowledge is much beyond his years. He shows the human faculty of acquisitiveness in the form of a collector of stamps, butterflies, botanical specimens and many other oddities . . . fine sense of humor and benevolence, with music also . . . a born scientist with a real desire for things bizarre, grotesque and occult. He can't understand how anyone can fill up on sodas, smoke cigarettes or bet on horses. Some guy. What?

His Latin teacher, William Serer Rusk, gives him Henry Adams's *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres.*

September
Enters Princeton. He will hold scholarships throughout his four years. Takes Greek, Latin, French, English, and mathematics. Throughout his freshman year he plans to major in paleontology.

1919

Still interested in military history. This interest, together with his interest in chess, reflects his lifelong concern with strategy and tactics.

Becomes a serious birdwatcher. In notebooks, keeps detailed lists of species with dates and locations of sightings, a practice he will continue throughout his life. Lists butterflies as well, frequently by their Latin names.

Meets Katherine Gauss, eldest daughter of the esteemed Princeton professor, Christian Gauss, mentor of Edmund Wilson and F. Scott Fitzgerald. The Gausses also summer in Greensboro.

June
For the *Nassau Literary Magazine,* reviews *Java Head* by the American novelist Joseph Hergesheimer.

Margaret Scolari (later to become Mrs. Alfred H. Barr, Jr.) graduates from the Liceo Mamiani in Rome.

September
Returns to Princeton. His courses include philosophy, chemistry, Greek, English, and his first art course, George W. Elderkin's "Ancient Art," in which he gets a "1," placing him in the top group in that class. (Barr will receive a "1" in every course he takes in Princeton's department of art and archaeology.) Professor Charles Rufus Morey is the preceptor for "Ancient Art."[3]

1920

January 6
Takes an art preceptorial on the sculpture of Praxiteles and Scopas with Morey.

February 17
Barr takes a course in medieval art with Morey, whose meticulous analysis of influences, currents, and crosscurrents constitutes a method adaptable to any moment of

3 Morey was a professor of art and archaeology at Princeton from 1918 to 1955. His *Early Christian Art* (1941) and *Medieval Art* (1942) are still considered seminal works on their subjects.

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historical sequence and deeply influences Barr. He will later write that this course was "a remarkable synthesis of the principal medieval arts as a record of a period of civilization: architecture, sculpture, paintings on walls and in books, minor arts and crafts." It was to influence his plan for his modern art course at Wellesley six years later, and, ultimately, his plan for the Museum of Modern Art. Toward the end of the semester Barr decides to major in art history. He considers becoming a teacher.

May 20
Writes to Katherine Gauss: "Am electing for next year 1) elements of poetry—Cross, 2) revival of painting in Italy—Mather, 3) architecture—Butler, 4) medieval history—Munro, 5) biology—Conklin . . . ."[4]

1921

February
At Princeton, his second term, Barr takes "Modern Painting" with Frank Jewett Mather,[5] who is more imaginative and less systematic and intent on method than Morey. Barr enjoys a close relationship with Mather, who begins writing and talking about contemporary art around this time.[6] His style is breezy and conversational; he even allows students to smoke in class. Mather's *Modern Painting,* based on his Princeton lectures, will be published in 1927 and will include two chapters "on modernism," i.e., modern art through the 1920s. In 1929, Barr will describe Mather as a "distinguished humanist [who is] insufficiently sympathetic to the arts of the twentieth century." A major disagreement between them arises perhaps from their conflicting views on Matisse. Barr admires Matisse's work, which he knows from *The Dial.* Mather does not seem to share Barr's enthusiasm: "Fundamentally [Matisse] seems to me a fine draughtsman gone wrong . . . the paintings are garish and unsteady, splotched with conventionally sharp colors, like a tomato salad with mayonnaise . . . ." Nevertheless, Barr and Mather remain good friends.[7]

Barr also takes "Medieval Architecture" with Howard C. Butler, professor of the history of architecture.

He reads *The Dial* regularly. His great admiration for Marianne Moore, who was the magazine's editor for four and a half years, begins at this time; she is from Baltimore and known to Dr. Barr.

Summer
Accompanies Mather to view loan exhibition of modern art, "Impressionist and Post-Impressionist Painting" (May 2-September 15, 1921) at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, which includes works by van Gogh, Gauguin, Matisse, and Picasso. No Cubist works by Picasso are shown. This show was urged on the Metropolitan by John Quinn, whom Barr would never meet but whose collection he would greatly admire.

4 Barr's transcript shows only four courses, not five, for the first term; it does not list "The Revival of Painting in Italy." This is due to poor health, for at this time Barr is recovering from a case of typhoid contracted during the previous summer in Greensboro.

5 Before becoming a professor of art and archaeology at Princeton in 1910, Mather was an editorial writer and art critic for the *New York Evening Post* and an assistant editor at *The Nation.* Among his books are *A History of Italian Painting* (1923), *Modern Painting* (1927), and *Western European Painting of the Renaissance* (1939).

6 In the "Modern Painting" course, according to the catalogue, "the theory and development of Modern Painting will be traced, chiefly in France and England, from its precursors in the 17th century to the year 1900."

7 In a personal letter of 1931 in reply to the editor of *The Saturday Review,* who asked Barr to write on Mather, Barr writes: "I am both a former pupil and a friend of Mr. Mather, while at the same time I find myself in frequent disagreement with his opinions. For this reason I cannot accept your invitation, much as I admire the bulk of Mr. Mather's work."

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September
Lists his aims for the year: "1) to play a better game of tennis; 2) to collect a lot more dope on art—huge quantities in fact; 3) to get a '1' in Italian Painting, Renaissance Sculpture and Freehand Drawing—a '2' in Italian, Shakespeare, Dramatic Technique; 4) to make myself a bit more congenial with my fellow youths than I have been . . . and to begin to formulate my own philosophy of life . . . ." ("Italian Painting" is taught by Mather, "Renaissance Sculpture" by Morey, "Freehand Drawing" by Edwin A. Parke, and Italian by Gauss.)

Barr very excited about Vermeer; writes that he is "my best beloved among painters . . . ." Also mentions Terborch, who "is even more fastidious than Vermeer in his choice and arrangements of subjects . . . . [I]ndeed, the whole group of 'Little Masters' is worth studying." Vermeer's "chivalric" idealism of women appeals to him.

Frequently attends Princeton theater. Admires acting skills of his classmate A. Hyatt Mayor, who during the Depression will be forced to give up career in acting to work for William M. Ivins, Jr., curator of prints at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mayor will eventually become Ivins's successor at the museum.

1922

January
Completes paper on Luca della Robbia under Allan Marquand[8] and works on iconography of the dormition of the Virgin for Morey. Takes Gauss's Dante course and second term of Butler's "Classical Architecture," which deals with "Colonial, Neo-classic, and modern architecture."

February
Writes a friend that "Isadora Duncan is America's greatest living artist, [though] I have never seen her."

Asks Gauss to recommend him for a fellowship to Princeton graduate school for the next year. He is awarded the fellowship.

Acquires a second-state Rembrandt etching.

April 20
Gives a talk before the Art Journalists Club on the subject of modern art in recent magazines, such as "*Vanity Fair* (!), *Studio,* etc. . . . Bourdelle, Brancusi, etc.," as he recounts in a diary. "Morey and the other grey-beards do laugh." By this time he is very familiar with a variety of art magazines.

June
Graduates Phi Beta Kappa from Princeton, with high honors in art and archaeology; is twenty-second in a class of two hundred and fifty.

Autumn
Begins studies at Princeton graduate school as a "Fellow in Art and Archaeology."

October 19
Applies for a Rhodes Scholarship: ". . . at Oxford I would study English literature after getting my M.A. at Princeton." His application will be rejected in March, 1923.

1923

January-June
Receives M.A. degree from Princeton in June; writes paper on Piero di Cosimo, under Marquand. While at graduate school he has taken "History of Ornament and Decoration" with E. Baldwin Smith,[9] "Italian Sculpture of the Early Fifteenth Century" with Marquand, "Early Florentine

8 Among Marquand's books are *Greek Architecture* (1909), *Luca della Robbia* (1914), and *Andrea della Robbia* (1922).

9 Earl Baldwin Smith (1888-1956) was professor of art and archaeology at Princeton from 1916 to 1956. His principal books include *Early Christian Iconography* (1918), *Egyptian Architecture* (1938), and *Architectural Symbolism* (1956).

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Painting: Giotto and the Giottesque," with Mather, "Medieval Illumination of Manuscripts" with Morey, and "The Van Eycks and Early Flemish Painting" with Mather.

September
Becomes instructor in history of art at Vassar. Lives in the home of Professor and Mrs. Oliver Tonks. Tonks is head of the art department at Vassar and has studied with Charles Eliot Norton at Harvard. Barr acts in student plays and meets Adelaide ("Peter") Hooker, older sister of Blanchette Hooker, later to become Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3d, present chairman of the board of the Museum of Modern Art.

Dr. and Mrs. Barr move to Chicago, where Dr. Barr has been appointed professor of homiletics at the Presbyterian Theological Seminary of Chicago.

The young J. B. Neumann moves to New York from Berlin, where he has been an avant-garde art dealer for thirteen years. His small gallery, which will open on Fifty-seventh Street in 1924 as J. B. Neumann's Print Room, will soon be called the New Art Circle. Neumann will play a major role in exposing Barr to the avant-garde. They have not yet met.

At Vassar, Barr assists in teaching courses in Italian, Northern European, and modern painting.

November
Fifteen works by Kandinsky lent by Katherine Dreier's Société Anonyme for an exhibition at Vassar.[10]

1924

March 18
In a postcard to his mother, Barr writes:

> I am intoxicated with work—imagine it, never have I been so utterly buried—the work moves on over my head and for the moment I must let it move. I have completely rearranged the Modern Painting course. It took eight and a half hours merely to plan it. A continuous urge to learn more, to understand what before was woefully superficial—and then I have no energy for anything else and I am far behind in sleep. Perhaps during Spring vacation I may look about.

April 8-28
At Vassar's Taylor Hall art gallery, assembles "Exhibition of Modern European Art," comprising sixty-one items in all, borrowed from the New York galleries of Valentine Dudensing, César de Hauke, Kraushaar, J. B. Neumann, the Société Anonyme, M. Sterner, Wildenstein, and E. Weyhe. Includes works by the French artists Villon, Gleizes, Metzinger, Derain, Vlaminck, Marquet, and Matisse; the Germans Ernst, Baumeister, Campendonk; the Hungarians Moholy-Nagy and Péri; the Italians Severini and de Chirico; the Russians Lissitzky and Kandinsky; the Polish artist Marcoussis; the Spaniards Picasso and Gris; and the Japanese artist Foujita. That the exhibition is mounted at all is extraordinary, because the head of the art department, Tonks, is not favorably inclined toward modern art. (In one instance, Tonks ends a lecture on nineteenth-century art with a look at a single slide of a Cézanne painting remarking, "And this is modern art . . . I ask you?"; he steps down from the podium and stomps out of Taylor Hall.) With this exhibition Barr probably makes his first contacts with the art dealers Neumann, de Hauke, Dudensing, and Wildenstein. They are willing lenders because at this time colleges rarely solicit works of modern art.

While making the rounds of the New York galleries, Barr sees an exhibition of the work of the Russian sculptor Alexander Archipenko. On May 17, 1944, he will write Archipenko saying: "I knew your work as early as 1920 and visited your

10 Katherine Dreier (1877-1952), an American painter who was represented in the 1913 Armory show, was the founder, with Marcel Duchamp and Man Ray, of the Société Anonyme in 1920. The collection of the Société Anonyme was donated to Yale University in 1951.

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exhibition at the Kingore Galleries in 1924 with the greatest interest." This is worth noting because more works by Archipenko were included in the 1936 MOMA exhibition "Cubism and Modern Art" than by any other sculptor. Years later Barr has strong differences of opinion with Archipenko about the dating of his works.

June 21
Leaves Vassar. Has saved enough money to go to Europe and sails on the SS *Saxonia* of the Cunard line, probably third class. He later refers to this trip as his "grand tour." Meets Edward King in Genoa, from which they take a boat to Naples, seeing the ruins of Paestum towering above wide fields where sheep graze. They work their way north, always by train, ending in Turin, whence they proceed to Paris. (Barr's genius for unraveling railroad timetables becomes apparent at this time, and stands him in good stead throughout his life.) At Chartres, they have the good fortune to be guided by Etienne Houvet, famous for his knowledge of the cathedral's stained glass.

July 9
From Paris, Barr writes his father about the splendid bargains he has managed to pick up. He is already a self-assured collector within the narrow range of his financial means. In his letter he remarks, "Truly this is a merry life!"

September 25
Enters Harvard Graduate School as a Thayer Fellow and as an assistant in the art department.

Autumn
Writes to Dr. and Mrs. Barr in Chicago from Cambridge:

> All's well and very busy; I am carrying eight courses, four of which I work in:
>
> | | |
> |---|---|
> | Sachs | Drawings of Old Masters |
> | Sachs | Engraving and etching |
> | Caskey | Greek painting (vases) |
> | Pope | Theory of painting—with laboratory |
> | Post | Renaissance sculpture |
> | Haskins | History of Thought—500-1500 |
> | Edgell | Omnibus history of art |
> | Forbes | Technical processes |
>
> The last is genuinely an over-all course, plaster in your hair and paint in your eyes. We fresco walls, prepare gesso panels, grind colours, analyse fakes, read [Cennino Cennini] and have a glorious time of it. Haskins' course is monumental . . . . Caskey's course is in the Boston Museum . . . we have the jugs before us on the table during the discussion. Oh yes, in addition I am instructing; I have one Radcliffe class of twenty and one Harvard class of thirty in Edgell's course. At present I am working on a magnificent drawing of Tintoretto and on a couple of lectures on XX century engraving, and I have just submitted myself for telepathic experiment, a few minutes each week. I told you didn't I that I turned down an offer from Smith—this is absolutely confidential, I haven't even told King who by the way survives . . . . Argued last night from 8 to 12 with one of my favorite undergraduates, Bob Payne [sic][11]—ancient Boston family, two years at Oxford—a most sweet-spirited person though disgracefully wealthy—about modern painting. Strange enough, we made progress; it was good practice. Tea on Friday with Pamela Bianco [Barr owned a volume called Suite de Dessins par Pamela Bianco] in Peter Smith's Room.[12] Pamela is or was a prodigy—I've been following her work for several years—she had a famous exhibition in London when she was 12 years old, an amazing talent and a

11 Robert Treat Paine, Jr. (Harvard B.A. *cum laude* 1926, M.A. 1928) became a curator, department of Asiatic art, at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. His specialty was Japanese art.

12 Peter Smith, a student interested in architecture, would later be among the first Americans to study with Le Corbusier; he became a friend of Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Jere Abbott and travelled with Barr and Abbott in Holland for a few days in 1927. He died in Europe at an early age.

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very unassuming little girl—she is 17 now. Her first work was an illustrated story about mice—she likes Uccello, Crivelli, Picasso and Derain best among painters . . . .

December
Presents paper on "The Aesthetic Emphasis in College Art Courses" at meeting of College Art Association in Chicago.

1925

January-May
Continues to live in Cambridge, taking graduate courses and instructing. Work on the collection of Paul J. Sachs constitutes part of his study.[13] Under Edward Forbes, co-director with Sachs of Harvard's Fogg Museum, continues the course "Technical Processes," and produces for it a fresco and a tempera-and-oil painting.

June
Sachs gives Barr a drawing of *Venus and Cupid* by Luca Cambiaso, and on June 12 writes Morey at Princeton:

> [I] congratulate you on the perfectly splendid student you have developed in Alfred Barr. He decided suddenly to take his Ph.D. general examination . . . yesterday afternoon . . . and acquitted himself better than any other candidate in an oral examination during the time I have been here . . . . [Not only does he have a] mind stored with facts . . . one gets the impression that he [has] thought deeply and ranged widely over the whole field. I predict . . . he is going to be a scholar of distinction. We have all enjoyed him here this winter . . . his influence on students has been stimulating . . . .

Autumn
Returns to Princeton graduate college, department of art and archaeology, as preceptor (1925-26). Is preceptor in the following courses: "Medieval Architecture" with E. Baldwin Smith, "Renaissance Sculpture" and "Modern Sculpture" with Stohlman, "The Revival of Painting in Italy" with Mather, and "Modern Painting" with Mather, Smith, DeWald, and George Rowley. Morey is absent for the academic year 1925-26.

Barr meets Jere Abbott. Abbott is a graduate of Bowdoin College (B.S., 1920), where he taught a course in thermodynamics. After a year spent studying music and art in Paris (1923-24), Abbott has decided to concentrate on the fine arts and attends Princeton as Graduate Scholar: Carnegie Scholar in Fine Arts. He draws with precision somewhat geometrical and wiry abstractions and improvises on the piano. (He will become the first associate director of the Museum of Modern Art in November, 1929.) He, Barr, and graduate students listen to records of music by the modern French composers Ravel, Satie, Poulenc, Auric. Among the students are Donald Drew Egbert, Fellow in Architecture, and the Frenchman Jean Frois-Wittman, Fellow in Psychology.[14] All are modernist in tendency. Barr probably writes the following remarks at this time. He entitles these sheets "Surrealism, Leonardo, etc." and indicates that they are intended for Frois-Wittman:

> The sur-realistes [later changed to surrealists] shun the intellect in favor of the subconscious. They rebel against the analytical in order to rehabilitate the imagination. They explore the pre-logical functioning of images before they are tested by the reality-adapted

13 Paul J. Sachs (1878-1965), the connoisseur and collector, was a member of the Harvard faculty from 1917 to 1948. He taught his famous museum course ("Museum Work and Museum Problems") from 1921 through 1948. He was to become a founding trustee of the Museum of Modern Art.

14 Donald Drew Egbert (1902-1973) was to become a professor of art, archaeology, and architecture at Princeton. His books include *Socialism and American Art* (1968) and *Social Radicalism and the Arts, Western Europe* (1970). Jean Frois-Wittman was at this time an analyst-in-training.

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intelligence while they remain pure inorganic, imaginal material. For logic is the easiest way for a mind so lazy that it cannot think outside its conceptual cage; naturally agoraphobic, the rational mind fears freedom.

. . . Superrealism [later changed to Surrealism] asserts absolute freedom for the imagination. Contradictions and paradoxes are disconcerting but they are tonic for they baffle the reason and to baffle the reason is to put it in the wrong.

. . . Certain psychotic patients, the schizophrenics are as detached from our world as the cynic philosopher from riches, as the woman in love from coquetry: yet they are evidently in possession of something more worthwhile. Only they have so freed themselves from contingencies that they cannot or do not care to go back to them. As *analysts* it is our business to seduce them out of their pattern; but we cannot help thinking as *artists* that their mental life is not merely amusing verbigeration but on the contrary is in some cases at least capable of producing magnificent ideas—new, unforeseen relations as moving, as full of lyricism and pure poetry as the dreams, the legends or the myths.

Barr continues to see Mather and becomes a friend of George Rowley, who gives courses in Sienese and Chinese painting.

Margaret Scolari—known as "Daisy"—goes to Vassar as a "student assistant" to teach Italian. (Barr had left Vassar the year before.) She is fluent in English, French, and German, and has a knowledge of art history.

December

Barr presents two papers at the fifteenth annual meeting of the College Art Association, held at Cornell University: "A Drawing by Antonio Pollaiuolo," and "A Synthetic Course in Renaissance and Modern Art." (The former paper, a discussion of a work in the Sachs collection, will be published in a book entitled *Art Studies* [Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1926].) Four of the six directors of the CAA at this time are Sachs, Morey, Mytilla Avery (of Wellesley), and Alice Van Vechten Brown, head of the Wellesley art department, whose liberality will make it possible for Barr to give his modern art course at Wellesley in 1926-27.

1926

January 7-30

Attends John Quinn memorial exhibition of paintings, watercolors, and sculpture at the Art Center in New York. Rousseau's *Sleeping Gypsy* makes a profound impression on him, "more than anything else in a show of wonderful pictures," he writes many years later. (Eventually, in 1939, he will acquire this painting for the Museum of Modern Art's collection.)

Is offered teaching positions at Smith and Wellesley colleges for the academic year 1926-27. He writes his parents as follows:

Wellesley offer which came the day after telegram—two days after acceptance of Smith—was same position and salary *but* only 6 hours first term *3* hours (!) second and in *Italian* painting and *Modern* painting, both of which I know better than any other two subjects—meaning an *immense* saving of time—and freedom to work on thesis only 25 minutes from Harvard . . . .

After three days of wrestling and consultation have to write Smith suggesting release and giving of course a very full account of the situation which is very trying for all concerned. The difference in the two positions as well as my considerable obligation to Miss Brown and Miss Avery make a tentative effort for release advisable. Will write details as soon denouement is past.

Accepts Wellesley offer because he will be allowed to teach a course in modern art which he has designed himself.

February-March

Barr writes to his parents from Princeton:

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I'm trying to get up a modern show with pictures owned in Princeton. Jere has a Marie Laurencin oil, two Speicher drawings, a Bellows lithograph. Beppo Hall has an Odilon Redon lithograph, a fine Degas lithograph, a Luks drawing, and a fine new Vlaminck oil. Bert Friend has two little Maillol bronzes. Hope it comes through . . . . Will you give me a long critique of the Cheney book, mother?[15] I may use it next year and want your opinion—and father's if he finds time.

Here's the notice for the Wellesley catalogue (*in an unedited form*):

Art 305
Tradition and Revolt in Modern Painting: Vision and Representation. Pictorial organization. The place of subject matter. The achievement of the past—especially the nineteenth century. The 20th century, its gods and *-isms.* The painter, critic, dealer, collector; the museum; the academics; the public. Contemporary painting in relation to sculpture, the graphic arts, architecture, the stage, music, literature, commercial and decorative arts. Fashionable aesthetics: fetish and taboo. Painting and modern life. The Future.

which I boiled down to this modest proposal:

Art 305: Contemporary Painting in relation to the past, to the other arts, to aesthetic theory and to modern civilization.

My other course will be:

Art 303: *The Italian tradition in European Painting.* Italian painting of the late medieval and Renaissance periods. The expansion of the Italian ideal throughout Europe and its persistence down to the present.

That's badly worded but is merely a first draught . . . .

[P.S.] This is the 700th anniversary of the birth of St. Francis.

June 3

Barr and two friends have admission passes to visit the Barnes Foundation in Philadelphia. He has already sent in to *The Saturday Review of Literature* his review of Albert Barnes's recently published book, *The Art in Painting.* The review (excerpted below) reveals a good deal about Barr's approach to art at this time:

> This is an important book because it presents a systematic and confident statement of what is central in the "modern" attitude toward painting . . . . Banishment of subject-matter is recommended so that one may consider a painting "only in terms of color, line, mass, space, plastic form."
>
> . . . Mr. Barnes will find many, especially among those whom Aldous Huxley terms "the absurd young," who are more or less in sympathy with his position. Among them is the reviewer who has frequently found himself engaged in a long analysis of a painting without the slightest consciousness of subject matter until some philistine undergraduate brings the discussion to earth by asking why the madonna has such a funny chin. The undergraduate's impatience is pardonable. His aesthetic illiteracy is shared by all but a few of those who find pictures interesting . . . .
>
> The plastic means of the great Masters are dissected diligently and often with a considerable originality . . . but it is difficult to accept the elevation of the monotonous Hobbema above Seghers, Ruysdael, and Cuyp, or

15 *A Primer of Modern Art,* by Sheldon Cheney; Boni & Liveright, 1924. Barr probably considers Cheney's book important for two reasons: it includes a hundred and seventy-five illustrations (a lot for the time) and the text discusses not only sculpture and painting but also architecture, the theater, and decorative arts in Germany, Russia, Italy, France, England, and the United States. Furthermore, Cheney analyzes the international scope of the modern movement objectively. Throughout Cheney refers to past art that might have inspired the artists about whom he was writing. Barr always believed that in order to understand what the modern artist admired and where his visual experiences came from one must have a solid knowledge of the past.

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> to discover in Cosimo Rosselli a neglected master of composition . . . . Modern painting is handled more convincingly and sometimes brilliantly. The plastic developments of Renoir and Cézanne are very thoroughly analyzed by the man whose Renoirs and Cézannes should be the envy of every museum in the country—especially the Metropolitan. It is refreshing to find no reference to vorticism, futurism, synchronism, and the other ephemeral teapot tempests which though long dead are still made to resound in academic kitchens . . . .
>
> Mr. Barnes's position is epitomized by a page where side by side are reproduced an Entombment by Titian and a still-life by Cézanne. Below we read: "The design in these two paintings is very similar, showing irrelevance of subject matter to plastic value." But what price plastic value! Do we, after all, profit largely by reducing Titian's noble tragedy to the terms of apples upon a crinkly napkin? Mr. Barnes will yet drive us to rereading Ruskin, and to the tearful contemplation of those "positively saint-like animals of Edwin Landseer, R.A."

Although the review is mostly favorable, Barnes will never forgive Barr for his criticisms and will refuse to allow him to visit the Foundation in 1950 when Barr is writing *Matisse: His Art and His Public,* or to reproduce any of his Matisses in the book. (Barnes died before Barr's book was published.)

July 19
Still lingering in Princeton; writes J. B. Neumann that he plans to call on him. Barr reminds Neumann that he is "the ignorant young man with whom [he] had had lunch a fortnight ago—at Childs." (There is a Childs restaurant on Fifth Avenue between Fifty-sixth and Fifty-seventh streets, near Neumann's gallery.) Although Barr had borrowed from him for the modern exhibition at Vassar in 1924, it is during this summer that they will get to know each other. Reads *Art Lover*[16] and will eventually buy works from Neumann's gallery for Wellesley, and later for the Museum of Modern Art.

Autumn
Appointed associate professor, department of art history, at Wellesley. Shares apartment in Cambridge with Jere Abbott. Teaches at Wellesley and takes graduate courses at Harvard. With Abbott, enrolls in Sachs's museum course at the Fogg. Among their classmates are A. Everett ("Chick") Austin, who will become director of the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, in 1927; Henry-Russell Hitchcock, who will become an eminent architectural historian; James Rorimer, future director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art; and R. Kirk Askew, Jr., future art dealer (Durlacher Gallery, New York) and patron of avant-garde painting, sculpture, and film.

October
Corresponds frequently with J. B. Neumann because he is eagerly hunting for visual material for a course in contemporary art. He needs books, magazines, reproductions, anything he can lay his hands on. Neumann will be responsive and immensely helpful. He extends the dimensions of Barr's already catholic taste, widens his horizons, and opens out the field of contemporary German, central European, and perhaps even Russian art to him.

From Cambridge, in a letter dated October 12, Barr writes Neumann in New York:

> Dear Mr. Neumann,
>
> You will remember, I trust, how very generously you offered to help me with material for my course in *Contemporary Art.* I have an absurdly small amount—a little over $200.00, but with your aid I hope to make it go a long way. You suggested (if I remember rightly) that you could import books and

16 Neumann published *Art Lover* periodically from 1924-45. He wrote that he devoted these publications "to the neglected, the little-known and the misprised."

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prints for me at dealers prices—which would be about two-thirds the list price. Here is a list of German publishers whose books I need.

German (about 250 M.):
R. Piper, München
Kiepenheuer, Potsdam
Ernst Wasmuth, Berlin
Delphin-Verlag, München
E. Rentsch Verlag, München
Klinkhardt & Biermann, Leipzig
Propylaen Verlag, Berlin
Verlag E. A. Seemann, Leipzig
A. Langen Verlag, München
Rudolph Mosse, Berlin

French (about 1000 fr.):
La Renaissance des Livres, Paris
Librairie de France, Paris
Ollendorf, Paris
Ed. George Crès et Cie, Paris
Albin Michel, Paris
L'Art et Les Artistes (23 Quai Voltaire)
Bernheim Jeune et Cie, Paris
Editions de La Nouvelle Revue Francaise
Librairie Floury, Paris
Editions Albert Morance, Paris

Italian (about 100 1 .):
U. Hoepli, Milan
Valori plastici, Rome
Pubblicazione Milione, Rome

English (about 2.00 pounds)

American (about 90.00 dollars) . . . .

To simplify this long letter, can you . . . send me a list of *good* color reproductions of modern (and interesting old) masters? . . . What Austrian, German, and French firms other than those I have mentioned make fine reproductions of modern art?

Do you still wish to work together on a bibliography of books and reproductions of modern art?

Boston is very dead so far as contemporary art is concerned. Sargent and Dodge McKnight are still the last word, but there are many who would be interested if they could see good originals or perfect reproductions. Professor Sachs is increasingly interested . . . .

Addresses a letter to the editor of the Harvard *Crimson,* remarking that in Boston there are few collectors of contemporary art. The editor of the paper entitles the letter, which appears in the October 30 issue, "Boston is Modern Art Pauper." The letter is widely reprinted and referred to, in *The Boston Evening Globe, The Boston Evening Transcript, The Boston Daily Globe, Art News,* and *Arts* magazine. It may not make him many friends in Boston, but it calls attention to the fact that he is a champion of modern art.

November-December
Organizes exhibition of modern art at the Fogg Museum, borrowing works from the collections of fellow Harvard students, among them, Julien Levy, the future art dealer.

Writes Neumann (November 15):

I have had some good fights over modern art—I'll bring you some clippings when I come to New York again . . . . Cambridge and Boston are a little bewildered . . . . There has been much criticism and debate and some soreness—a very healthy and (to me) enjoyable atmosphere . . . . How I look forward to discussions with you! And may I depend on you for facsimiles of modern pictures? I shall come to New York in a week or so and hope to see you.

Sees his first Mondrians at the Brooklyn Museum. Although he knows Mondrian's work fairly well from German publications and reproductions, he is "much impressed by [his] first sight of the originals," as he writes in a letter to Katherine Dreier.

Sees Brancusi's works at the Brummer Gallery in New York. Possibly meets Marcel Duchamp at this time, who helped arrange the show and who visits it continually.

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1927

January 4
Applies to the Carnegie Corporation "for a grant to enable me to study for a year in Europe . . . . [I] wish to study *contemporary* European culture." He goes on to write in his application:

> My choosing the modern field for my special study needs, perhaps, further explanation since such a choice is infrequent even among students of my age. First of all, I believe that the older periods are comparatively well supplied with teachers and scholars, while the modern field has scarcely been touched by American scholars. Also, I must confess, perhaps naïvely, that I find the art of the world in which I live far more absorbing and vitally interesting than the art of, say, the XVIIITH dynasty in Egypt—or even that of the *trecento* in Italy. And finally, I feel increasingly a sincere and urgent demand on the part of undergraduates and the general public to be assisted in the comprehension of the art of the past thirty years, which is often so strange and puzzling but which is, after all, very living and important both in itself and as an expression of our amazing though none too lucid civilization.

He is not awarded the grant.

January 9
Barr writes Neumann:

> I'm a little worried about the color reproductions. Are they on the way? About when do you think they'll arrive? We're having a show of the *Dial* folio and the Quatre Chemins Cézanne acquerelles. We would like of course to put up some van Goghs and Gauguins and Matisses—the *Seig der Farbe,* the Marées Kunst des Gegenwart, etc.—and single prints. But please don't trouble if they haven't come though I would like to know about when they're expected.

The availability of good reproductions—so taken for granted today—is of continual concern to Barr.

January-June
Continues to live in Cambridge and to commute to Wellesley. In the second academic term, January to June, gives a course in modern art, the first of its kind in any college, for it deals with graphic design, photography, music, film, and architecture in addition to painting and sculpture. Admission to the course requires students to successfully complete a "Questionnaire," which is published in *Vanity Fair* the following August.[17]

Years later Jere Abbott would write of this time:

> Our social life in Cambridge . . . was limited. We were entertained by the [Kingsley] Porters . . . . There were many musical evenings at Shady Hill [Sachs's house, now demolished] . . . . I "sat in" on [Sachs's] course on drawing, with examples from his remarkable collection . . . the course was luxurious in the best Harvard tradition. We met every two weeks for lunch at Shady Hill and the discussion followed lunch. Alfred attended when convenient, for he had a heavy schedule, teaching at Wellesley. He used to discuss his course with me . . . without a doubt it was the most complete course in modern art given anywhere in the U.S. at that time. Alfred was a unique teacher. His method sometimes caused authorities to dissent, but Alfred never paid any attention to that. For the final examination the members of the class turned in an essay, already written on a subject previously given to them. Then they settled back to listen to a two-piano recital of arrangements by Ravel, Milhaud, Stravinsky & Debussy, played by a young man in the Music Department & Jere Abbott. The "authorities" didn't like it a bit. Those were really mad, glorious days.

17 Barr's "Questionnaire" asks: "What is the significance of each of the following in relation to modern artistic expression?" and then lists some fifty names and artistic movements, ranging from Joyce, Matisse, Schönberg, Franz Werfel, and *Sur-réalisme* to Paul Claudel, Forbes Watson, Alexander Archipenko, George Antheil, and *Das Bauhaus.* In the *Vanity Fair* article, Barr supplies answers for each.

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February-March
Corresponds with Katherine Dreier. Requests loans of avant-garde art from Société Anonyme collection for exhibition in Boston, and hopes she will come to lecture; however, schedule and finances do not permit.

Buys Louis Lozowick's *Modern Russian Painting,* published by the Société Anonyme.

April 2
Writes parents in Chicago:

> Back in Cambridge again after a tear in New York collecting pictures for my exhibition and getting reacquainted with acquaintances. . . . Spent a day with Neumann, who will open many doors in Germany for Jere and me . . . . This morning I went to Neumann's again to talk business—importing material, etc. . . . Neumann himself is most lovable and other-worldly . . . . Life is sweet!

April 11-30
Organizes "Exhibition of Progressive Modern Painting from Corot to Daumier to Post-Cubism" at Farnsworth Museum, Wellesley. Includes thirty-five works divided into five sections: French Ancestors of the Modern Movement; Contemporary French, including Parisian Foreigners; German; Russian, living in Paris; American. Some of the lenders to the exhibition are the Fogg, Sachs, Mrs. John Saltonstall of Boston, Jere Abbott, the author and collector Walter Pach, and the Rehn, Brummer, Knoedler, and New Art Circle (J. B. Neumann) galleries.

Sachs devises a scholarship so that Barr can travel for a year and be relieved of teaching.

Spring
Prepares list of exhibitions he would recommend that students visit during their spring vacations:

> New York: Seligman, Neumann (New Art Circle), Valentine Dudensing, Little Review Gallery (always something interesting), Whitney Studio Club (interesting), Durand-Ruel, Kleinberger, Arnold Seligman (modern books), Wildenstein (XIXth century French—important), Metropolitan Museum, Waldorf-Astoria (Society of Independent Artists—grand show!), Corona Mundi, Reinhardt (good show), Intimate Gallery (Stieglitz) in Anderson Galleries, Brummer, and Weyhe (best art books in New York).
>
> Chicago: Art Institute, Arts Club . . . .

May
Lectures on "New Tendencies in Modern American Painting" at Bowdoin College.

June
Margaret Scolari awarded M.A. degree from Vassar College but must maintain status of "student" in order to legally remain in the United States. Vassar president Henry Noble MacCracken, whose family has connections with New York University, suggests that she take graduate courses there in the history of art. She commutes from Poughkeepsie.

July 8
Barr gets visas from French, British, and German consulates in Boston. Armed with names of people to contact and letters of introduction from Sachs, Neumann, and Dreier, leaves for a year abroad. Neumann writes him that ". . . in Germany you need no letters of introduction. Where modern art is shown people are interested in informing you as much as possible . . . ."

July 28
Barr arrives in England, joining his parents and his brother Andrew.

September
Henry-Russell Hitchcock comes to teach at Vassar. He and Margaret Scolari, who studies frequently in Taylor Hall art library, meet and become great friends. Both are intensely bored by the conventual life of the college so that any news from the outside

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world is very welcome and worth sharing. Hitchcock receives letters from Barr and Abbott and reads them aloud to Miss Scolari with exclamations and shouts.

Barr, still in London, writes Neumann (September 29):

> Since you're not coming I've decided not to go to the new countries until Abbott comes over—I hate travelling alone so much. I'm working in London on my thesis and seeing English artists and painting (some of it very pretty) and going to the Tate and British Museum and the V. and A. [Victoria and Albert Museum] and to concerts—lots of Bach . . . .

Meets Henry Moore at his home outside London. (The introduction was arranged through a curator at the Victoria and Albert Museum.)

While in London, makes a point of meeting Roger Fry, whose writings on Cézanne and Matisse are read by modern art amateurs. Fry had worked at the Metropolitan Museum from 1905-10. The "Post-Impressionist" exhibitions he organized in London in 1910 and 1912 gave the British public its first serious look at modern art. (Curiously, considering their similar interests, in later years Barr would make no effort to see Fry again.)

Calls on Wyndham Lewis, the Vorticist painter, critic, and editor of *Blast,* through whom he meets the painter and "extraordinary London character" Nina Hamnett. She is Russian and Communist in leaning; in Moscow she has a great friend, May O'Callahan. She plans an introduction.

Writes "Modern Art in London Museums," published in *The Arts,* October, 1928.

October

By October 27, Barr and Abbott are paying guests at the home of the painter Percy Horton in London.

October 30, Barr crosses the Channel by steamer to the Hook of Holland and sees the houses of J. J. P. Oud. To Rotterdam and The Hague, where he meets Abbott and Peter Smith. Spends next eight days seeing collections: The Hague (the Mauritshuis and the Kröller Collection—all the van Goghs are on tour, unfortunately): Haarlem; Amsterdam (stays for four days; at Stedelijk sees loan exhibition of paintings from Italy, including works by Severini, Carrà, and de Chirico—"after Picasso . . . one of the most ingenious of living painters"; very excited by Fabritius and Rembrandt, especially the *Night Watch*); Utrecht; and Hilversum.

November

November 8, leaves for Bremen and a month in Germany. To Dessau to spend four days at the Bauhaus. Barr and Abbott are cordially received and meet most of the masters: Josef Albers, Herbert Bayer, Marcel Breuer, Lyonel Feininger (who is an American citizen), Paul Klee, and László Moholy-Nagy.

December

Barr and Abbott arrive in Berlin. Barr sends a postcard to Neumann:

> We have just come to Berlin. We're going to Moscow. The Prussians here are barbarous—the Jews seem to be the cultivated and artistic part of Berlin.

December 12, with no difficulty they get visas from the Russian consulate for travel in Russia for "30 days from the crossing of the Russian Border" and from the Polish consulate for crossing through Poland. The latter is stamped "WITHOUT THE RIGHT TO STOP" and is valid until December 26.

December 24, they board train for Moscow from Schlesischer Bahnhof in Berlin. December 25, they cross the border at Negoreloe (in Poland) and enter Russia. December 27, arrive in Moscow. Go by tram to the Hotel Bristol, recommended by May O'Callahan, Nina Hamnett's friend, who will introduce them to a wide circle of artists and writers. On this first night they see Eisenstein's *Potemkin.* Diego Rivera is also staying at the Bristol.

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1928

January

Moscow. A young man named Piotr Likacher becomes their interpreter and escort. Barr keeps a diary, as does Abbott. Goes to Kino (movies) and theater, meets Sergei Eisenstein and stage director Meyerhold; writes "The Documentary versus the Abstract Film" for Moscow journal *Sovetskoe Kino,* which publishes it in March. Meets El Lissitzky, Rodchenko, Stepanova, Tatlin, and Tzetyakov. Sees state-held Shchukin and Morosov collections of modern art, Ostroukov, and other important collections of icons. Meets architect Ginzburg. Collects books, pamphlets, children's books, photographs, posters, and reproductions to use in his classes and to illustrate articles-in-progress. Works in library and does extensive research on Roubylev, Theophanes the Greek, and icons. (He already owns Muratov's classic book on icons, which he purchased in London in 1927.)

February

February 17, departs with Abbott and Piotr for Leningrad. Visits Hermitage and other museums, attends theater, opera, and movies.

February 24, late at night, takes sleeper to Novgorod, 119 kms. south of Leningrad by train. (The literal definition of Novgorod is "new town," but it could also be called "town of churches." It is over eleven hundred years old and of all old Russian towns is one of the richest in early Russian art, architecture, and culture.) From Barr's diary account of this excursion:

> We take a zany [i.e., *sanie,* a taxi sled] to the historical museum in the Kremlin across the river again—but there we are told to try the Museum of Archaeology and Art. There we are received pleasantly and a little diffidently by Director Porfiridov. He speaks nothing but Russian, but his assistant, a putto-faced boy with bright cheeks and lips, knows a little French and helps Peter [i.e., the young interpreter Piotr] tell our wants. Porfiridov acts with unprecedented efficiency—within fifteen minutes he has written an elaborate three-day schedule with ten churches and two museums carefully arranged in groups so that our zany tax will be as low as possible. The round faced popeyed assistant offers to go with us. We start out walking first through the town to the 14th century Church of Theodore the Stratelate. Then we have our first experience of climbing shaky scaffolding to see recently uncovered frescoes of about 1370 thought by Muratov to be early works of Theophanes the Greek. Porfiridov seemed doubtful but believed them to be Greek rather than Russian. Then to the nearby church of the Transfiguration. Here we found magnificent frescoes documented and dated 1379 and certainly by the hand of Theophanes. Those that remain are very well preserved in the collar and dome of one cupola—austere prophets painted with extraordinary boldness in the so-called style of late Byzantine impressionism. They are scarcely impressionistic, however, since their formula is derived not through effort to represent impressions of color and light values but rather as a vigorous shorthand, abstract and most expertly studied.[18]

February 27, Barr and Abbott return to Leningrad. Get exit visas to leave Russia from the minister of internal affairs.

March

March 2, in Warsaw; stay at Polonia Palace Hotel, a very nice hotel at that time, in the center of the city. Get Czech visas, valid March 3, allowing them to enter Austria, and visit there for one month.

March 5, leave Czechoslovakia via Breznice; arrive Vienna, where they meet

18 Barr's "Russian Diary" was first published in *October* in Winter, 1978. It has been reprinted in a recent book published by Abrams: *Defining Modern Art: Selected Writings of Alfred H. Barr, Jr.* (302 pages, $27.50). The Novgorod account, originally misfiled, is published here for the first time. Jere Abbott's diary was published in *The Hound & Horn* in 1929.

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Abbott's parents. Together they travel in Germany, visit the Weissenhof settlement in Stuttgart, an experimental housing project created in 1927 by Mies van der Rohe, Le Corbusier, Walter Gropius, Peter Behrens, and other pioneers of the modern movement.

April
April 4, Barr writes Neumann letter postmarked "Basel" outlining itinerary from Vienna. Visits Munich ("pleasant visit with Günther Franke," dealer and collector), Salzburg (Mozart's birthplace, Pacher altar), Frankfurt (Robert von Hirsch collection), Mainz, Darmstadt, Mannheim (Beckmann show at Kunsthalle; meets Director Gustav Hartlaub, who first used the term Neue Sachlichkeit—"new objectivity"), Strasbourg, and Colmar (Grünewald altar). Tells Neumann he will be

> in Paris during much of May and then I hope to go north—to Cologne, Essen, Düsseldorf, and Holland, then England. I leave for America towards the end of June . . . . I'm still very much interested in modern German art. I hope to write several short articles, one on Dix, Grosz, Schrimpf, etc.—the sogenannte Neue Sachlichkeit—one on Feininger, one on Schmidt-Rottluff (as typical of the "Brücke"). . . . We must talk about all these things.

June
Article on Eisenstein published in *Drawing and Design.*

July 13
Sails to America from Cherbourg, France.

August
In Greensboro; designs house for his parents. (His brother Andrew's family occupies this house today.)

September
Resumes teaching at Wellesley while living in Cambridge. At Wellesley, as associate professor in the art department, teaches Italian Renaissance painting, Northern European art, and "Tradition and Revolt in Modern Painting."

Mounts exhibition of posters from Russia. Tries to convince Sachs to have an exhibition of Russian icons.

Recommends Jacques Maritain's *Art and Scholasticism* to his students. The next year Barr will write, in an article for the *Wellesley Alumni Magazine,* that "for those who really wish to think about art, [Maritain's book] will prove a very noble stimulant . . . . In this small book the author discovers for us the light thrown upon art and aesthetic theories of our own bewildered age, stricken by war, and by peace, and recoiling bitterly from the optimistic naturalism of the last century."[19]

In these Wellesley years has become friendly with the composer Randall Thompson and his wife, Margaret.

---

19 Barr did not believe that the philosophy of aesthetics contributed very much to an understanding of modern art. Perhaps this is because when such writers of the 1920s as Barnes or Clive Bell tried to explain aesthetic theory they usually began with the assumption that their own personal tastes and intuitions were correct. To give the art of the time a philosophic or theoretical basis, Barr turned to Maritain. (Barr knew the English edition translated by John O'Connor with an introduction by Eric Gill, published in 1923.)

Barr, who was steeped in early Christian iconography, believed that just as the Christians in the Middle Ages looked to the religious motif to produce medieval art, we in the twentieth century have to use the fundamental symbolism inspired by the characteristics of our own epoch. Whether this symbolism was the wheel or machine of the Futurists (or, later, the automobile or Marilyn Monroe), Barr could turn to Maritain's philosophy as the basis for an appreciation of art/truth/beauty. Maritain was also one of the few philosophical writers concerned with art who was sympathetic to the purely aesthetic dimension of artistic experience. He believed that there is a universal order within which our intelligence is free to see and inquire; he often quoted artists. Like Maritain, Barr valued disciplined and orderly thought, and he too frequently quoted artists to support his arguments.

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Publishes "The 'LEF' and Soviet Art" in *Transition.* In the article, Barr introduces this group of Soviet artists, including the filmmaker Sergei Eisenstein, and discusses their relation to official Soviet ideology:

> The word LEF is formed from two Russian words meaning left front . . . . [It] is a group of individuals who would be described by any but themselves as artists, literary, dramatic, pictorial, critical, cinematographic. Their spirit is rational, materialistic, their program aggressively utilitarian. They despise the word "aesthetic," they shun the bohemian implications of the word "artistic." For them, theoretically, romantic individualism is abhorrent. They are communists.
>
> Among the group are the poets Maiakovsky and Asseyev, the scientific journalist Tretyakov, the *kino régisseur* Eisenstein, the critics Brik, Shlovsky, and Stephanova and Rodchenko who work in many mediums. Meyerhold is also affiliated with . . . the LEF.
>
> . . . When [Eisenstein] discusses the technique of his films he refers constantly to Freud and Marx and the Russian experimental neurologist, Pavlov. He usually neglects to mention his own remarkable library on the theatre covering three centuries in five languages, or his great love for Daumier whose lithographs he collects. Without doubt, Eisenstein is sincere in his anti-artistic, communist, scientific attitude, yet one suspects a conflict between the natural individualist and the limitations of a Marxian ideal. In spite of an exasperating censorship, it is rumored that *The Ten Days* [a film about the Russian Revolution] has not been good propaganda, even in Russia. It is too subtle, too metaphorical, too abstract in its sequences, too careless of narrative clarity; it is, in other words, too fine a work of art.

Margaret Scolari is teaching at Vassar for her fourth year and continues to commute to New York to attend graduate classes in art history at NYU.

December 12
Publishes "Sergei Michailovitch Eisenstein" in *The Arts.*

The Harvard Society for Contemporary Art is founded at dinner at Sachs's house, Shady Hill, and is announced in the *Crimson.* At the head of it are Lincoln Kirstein, Edward M. M. ("Eddie") Warburg (both are sophomores [Harvard, 1930]; they will later become trustees of the Museum of Modern Art), and John Walker (eventually to become the director of the National Gallery in Washington, D.C.).

1929

February
Publishes "Notes on Russian Architecture" in *The Arts,* using term "international style" to describe modern architecture.

February 19, the first exhibition organized by the Harvard Society for Contemporary Art opens in two rooms above the Harvard Coop. Attracts eleven hundred visitors in first week; Barr reviews first show for *The Arts* in April.

April 17-May 22
Barr delivers five lectures on contemporary art at Wellesley.

Spring
While teaching at Wellesley, awarded a Carnegie Resident Fellowship with a stipend of $2000 to study at New York University, College of Fine Arts, under the direction of Professor A. Philip MacMahon. (The fine-arts graduate school at NYU did not have a building of its own and was not called the Institute of Fine Arts until the mid-Thirties.) For the academic year 1929-30 Barr plans to concentrate in "modern art, especially history and criticism of painting . . . [my] thesis would probably concern some aspect of the influence of primitive and erotic forms upon modern European painting. The precise subject [to] be chosen with Prof. MacMahon's assistance and under his supervision." As for his future, he plans "to combine teaching and writing on the history and criticism of art, especially

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modern art (with the secondary field of painting in Germany, the Netherlands, and France, 1300-1800)."

Margaret Scolari, already a graduate student in fine arts at NYU, is awarded a $2000 Carnegie Fellowship for study in Europe, 1929-30. She does not go abroad because her advisor, Walter W. S. Cook, suggests that she take her first semester in New York before leaving for Europe.

June

Writes article for *The Arts* on Otto Dix. Does not submit it until 1931 (when it was published) because, as Barr would later note: "Amusingly enough, three days after I had finished it, I was asked to join the Museum staff and frankly did not want to be identified immediately with a stand which would have seemed to the Museum supporters a very reactionary one."[20]

Sachs approaches Barr on the subject of a projected museum of modern art in New York.

Meets Philip Johnson at Wellesley, where Johnson's sister Theodate is a music major. (At this time the head of the Wellesley music department is Werner E. Josten, who will many years later become a donor to the Museum Collections.) Johnson is a classics major at Harvard. Barr and Johnson become great friends and have lively conversations about modern art. Barr provides notes on modern European architecture for Johnson, who travels in Europe that autumn. In a letter dated "Dessau, Oct. 16," Johnson writes Barr:

> It would be hopeless to catch up on all the things we have been seeing. Today naturally I am reminded of you having just come to the Bauhaus for the first time. John McAndrew[21] and I have been travelling, rather fast to be sure, but travelling all over Germany and Holland to find modern architecture. We still think that Oud's Hook houses are the Parthenon of modern Europe. That is putting it a little strongly, but they are splendid. Oud is building a new diedlung of 700 houses in Rotterdam, but though wonderful of course, lack the genius, and have not the charm of the Hook buildings . . . last but not least Dessau. We were really thrilled at the sight of the Bauhaus. It is a magnificent building. I regard it as the most beautiful building we have ever seen, of the larger than house variety. Perhaps the Hook has what Hitchcock would call more lyric beauty, but the Bauhaus has beauty of *plan,* and great strength of design. It has a majesty and simplicity which are unequaled . . . .
>
> Thankfully yours,
> Philip Johnson

Is invited by Mrs. John D. (Abby Aldrich) Rockefeller, Jr. to Seal Harbor, Maine. July 9, cables his father in Greensboro:

> Position as director informally accepted. Now dining with Mrs. Rockefeller. Breathe not a word.

20 Barr's article on Otto Dix concluded: "Those who are devoted to contemporary French painting or its American imitation will feel their prejudice against German painting strengthened by the work of Otto Dix. It seems so coarse and ruthless, so filled with "extra pictorial" elements, so "realistic." Yet these are the very qualities which have shocked and baffled Germans who are so far ahead of Americans in their acceptance of abstract and expressionistic painting that they regard Dix with suspicion as a man who has denied and betrayed their hard-won achievements in the appreciation, say, of Picasso or Feininger . . . . The future may very possibly reveal Otto Dix as one of the great artists of the middle 20th century but even at present we may estimate him as perhaps the foremost among those who have rediscovered the objective world in all its wealth of individual character and particular detail as worthy of the artist's passion."

21 John McAndrew will later become curator of architecture at the Museum of Modern Art (1936-40); he will also design the sculpture garden in 1939 and other details of the museum's building. At this point, in 1929, McAndrew and Barr have not met.

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Mrs. Rockefeller telephones Jere Abbott, who is with his family in Dexter, Maine, and asks him to join them at Seal Harbor. Conversations progress favorably. Abbott has written: "At Seal I learned that a museum of modern art was being opened in the autumn. Alfred was to be Director and I was proposed as Associate Director, I was excited, I can tell you." Barr's salary will be $10,000, plus $2500 for travel expenses.

August
August 2, Morey writes to congratulate Barr:

> . . . I don't think they could have made a better choice for the new director . . . . I think the idea a magnificent one . . . with you at the head . . . it will not become an institution of propaganda like the Barnes Foundation . . . .

Writes prospectus, "A New Art Museum." Initial draft provides for multi-departmental museum, including architecture, design, photography, and film. Final version edited to read: "In time the Museum would expand to include other phases of modern art."

September
Margaret Scolari moves to New York, living in a furnished apartment at 1285 Madison Avenue, across the street from Duveen's house and down the block from the mansions of Otto H. Kahn and Andrew Carnegie on Fifth Avenue and Ninety-first Street.

October 29
Stock market crash.

November 7
The Museum of Modern Art officially opens in the Heckscher Building, 730 Fifth Avenue, with the loan exhibition "Cézanne, Gauguin, Seurat, and van Gogh." A. Conger Goodyear, the president of the Museum, had gone to Europe during the summer to secure important loans. Collectors and dealers co-operate, but he is particularly aided by the scholarly dealer César de Hauke. Margaret Scolari attends the opening with Walter W. S. Cook and signs the guestbook.

The first catalogue of the Museum lists the actual loans and lenders. It is printed nearly at the last moment, while the show is being hung. It is designed and laid out by Barr; it sells for $1.00.

The public comes and goes by elevator, and the business activity of the Heckscher Building is inconvenienced by the traffic (forty-three thousand people attend the first exhibition.) There are no guards in the galleries.

At the end of November Agnes Rindge comes in from Vassar College for Thanksgiving vacation, and goes with Margaret Scolari to the Museum of Modern Art. (Agnes Rindge, later Agnes Rindge Claflin, was a professor of art at Vassar; she served on MOMA's Advisory Committee in the Forties.) Rindge sees Barr in one of the galleries and introduces Margaret to Barr as Daisy Scolari.

December 27 or 28
Barr and Miss Scolari attend the meeting of the College Art Association in Boston. On the train to Boston Barr suggests crossing out the last three letters of her name, Margaret, and decides to call her "Marga." After their marriage, five months later, she is known as Marga to those who subsequently meet her. However, her NYU and early academic acquaintances will continue to address her as Daisy.

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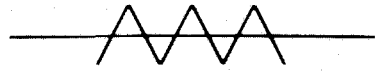

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"Our Campaigns"
by Margaret Scolari Barr

1930

During its first season the Museum of Modern Art observes a careful balance between foreign artists and American artists. The public finds its way to the museum in increasing numbers. It is hard to know whether the visitors realize what gives the galleries a feeling of novelty and freshness. The walls are faced with monk's cloth of a neutral though warm beige. The pictures are hung much lower than in any museum or commercial gallery, approximately fifty inches from the floor to the center of the picture. The paintings are not hung according to the strict laws of symmetry; in other words, they are not arranged with a horizontal in the center, two verticals at the sides, and smaller pictures at either end. The old-fashioned system of "skying"—hanging pictures one above the other—is nefarious. The visitor must see the works clearly and as much as possible at eye level. Sometimes the pictures are hung in groupings for reasons of affinity or contrast, not unlike stamps in a stamp album.

The impression of the galleries is of something new. On the floor there are pale gray rugs and a couch or two in the main gallery. Admission is free. The public comes and goes by elevator and in less than two years the Heckscher Building will no longer be able to handle the traffic.

January-May

Once or twice Philip Johnson comes down from Harvard, where he is a senior at the age of twenty-four after years of residence abroad.

While in New York, Philip is very much part of the group of excitable young men—A., Jere Abbott, Cary Ross (A.'s volunteer assistant)—who gather at lunch in the Chinese restaurant on Fifty-sixth Street.

Mid-March

Margaret Scolari to Northampton, Massachusetts, where she is interviewed by Professor Alfred V. Churchill, director of the Smith College Museum of Art, in the presence of the dealer Stephan Bourgeois (he is American, his wife is one of Isadora Duncan's dancers). It is decided that during the forthcoming academic year M. will teach a full schedule in the art-history department, and when Professor Churchill retires in the ensuing year, she will become director of the museum and teach fewer hours.

Shortly afterward, on a trip to New York, William Allan Neilson, president of Smith College, arranges to meet M. under the Biltmore clock; he confirms the Smith appointment.

M. goes to Northampton and selects an apartment large enough to accommodate her mother, who lives in Rome.

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May

A. writes his mother, "If you turn to page 145 of Frankie Mather's *History of Italian Painting,* you will see the picture of an ancestor of the girl I want to marry."* At the same time, M. writes Smith College to cancel her arrangements. In his gracious response, President Neilson remarks that A. had also canceled an appointment to Smith, some years before.

Deeply preoccupied because she fears M. is Catholic, A.'s mother immediately boards the train for New York. She is only partly reassured when she learns M. is Church of England. A. tells her that they will marry in Paris so as to avoid the social conventions that marrying in New York would involve. Somewhat reassured, A.'s mother returns to Chicago and miraculously discovers that the marriage of foreigners in Paris entails much red tape and great delay.

May 8

With Jere Abbott and Cary Ross as witnesses, A. and M. marry in City Hall.

M. sails to Europe alone, settles into a cheap hotel in Paris. Henry-Russell Hitchcock helps her order expensive wedding announcements at St.-Yves in the rue Saint-Honoré. Together they search for a suitable ready-made dress and hat, Russell attracting attention as he marches into the shops and booms, "Mademoiselle va se marier pas avec moi. Moi, je suis le garçon d'honneur."

A. arrives in Paris.

May 27

At the American Church on the quai d'Orsay a small wedding ceremony to satisfy A.'s father. Russell Hitchcock is one of the witnesses. M.'s mother, Mary Scolari Fitzmaurice, comes from Rome to attend the ceremony. While Cary Ross and Russell take M.'s mother to the theater, A. and M. walk along the rue Mallet-Stevens to see the modern houses built there by the Belgian architect Robert Mallet-Stevens a few years earlier.

For many days M. and A. address marriage announcements; A.'s list includes trustees of the museum as well as his many personal friends. M. buys stamps and puts her batch in the street mailboxes, but A. gives his to the hotel concierge to stamp and mail. Many months later James Rorimer remarks to M., "Really, I should think Alfred would have sent me an announcement." Thus it comes to light that the concierge had pocketed all the postage and thrown away the announcements. This is most painful in the case of Lizzie Bliss,** because she had invited some New York friends to drink to A.'s health on the day of his marriage.

May 28

Work begins. The Museum of Modern Art is still new and, despite A. Conger Goodyear's borrowings of 1929 and a year of favorable publicity, still relatively unknown.† Nevertheless, the Louvre, the Folkwang Museum in Essen, and the Kunstmuseum in Berlin must be approached for paintings. A., though scholarly in appearance, is only twenty-eight. Immensely helpful are the personal introductions written in longhand by Professor Paul J. Sachs, not only to museum officials but also to outstanding collectors and great dealers, all of whom knew him through regular frequentation. The prestige of the "museum course" he initiated at Harvard in 1922 becomes evident. A. uses one of these introductions to approach officials of the Louvre in order to borrow for the forthcoming exhibition of Corot and Daumier. (Henri Verne is then director of the National Museums.)

* Andrea del Castagno's portrait of Pippo Spano degli Scolari, in Sant' Apollonia, Florence.

** Lillie P. Bliss, the collector and patron, was one of the founders of the Museum of Modern Art and served as its first vice president.

† A. Conger Goodyear was president of the museum from 1929 to 1939.

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June

A. in London to request loans for the Corot-Daumier exhibition. Beginning of friendship with the great collector Samuel Courtauld, who comes often to New York.

A.'s system for a loan exhibition is established now. He selects from books and photographs on a basis of preference and is not intimidated by the eminence of the institutions or collectors from whom he needs to borrow. In most cases "fortune favors the bold." With collectors there is uncertainty, and successes in London must be balanced against failures with Kurt Gerstenberg in Berlin and Oskar Reinhart in Winterthur. In 1930 exhibitions are not frequent; museums and collectors are not bothered by requests for loans. Thus it is possible to plan an exhibition based on excellence rather than on the principle of "catch as catch can" (in other words, "put in everything that's available").

July/early August

After Paris, A. embarks on a tour of Germany, not only to borrow for the Corot-Daumier show but also to pave the way for the exhibition of German painting and sculpture. Assisted first by Cary Ross and later by the dealer and friend J. B. Neumann, A. makes stops at Essen, Krefeld, Hamburg, Berlin, Dresden.

M. goes by train to Rome to take her mother to a country place for the summer, then rejoins A. in Munich. From there they proceed to Zurich, where the collector and staunch friend Franz Meyer arranges appointments with museums and connoisseurs.

Essential is a visit to Gottlieb Reber in Lausanne, because A. wants a Picasso exhibition and Reber, an avid collector, seems to hold the key: he is—or pretends to be—closely bound with Paris dealers Paul Rosenberg and Etienne Bignou, who arranges huge summer shows in the Galeries Georges Petit (a rented space in the rue de Sèze). From Lausanne, A. cables Goodyear, "Great Picasso show possible." (The time-consuming cultivation of Reber proves useless. By the summer of 1939, when the Picasso show is truly in sight, he has disappeared.)

Late summer

The "August pattern" is established. A. goes to Greensboro, Vermont, to see his mother and M. goes to Rome to see hers. However, this stay in Italy is cut short because M. is to join A. in Vermont. Although M. is a seasoned campaigner, in Greensboro she counts as a "bride," and kind summer friends give lunch parties to look her over. M. feels foreign.

September

Philip Johnson and A. and M. rent apartments at 424 East Fifty-second Street. A. does not want to use any of the furniture that M. can get from her mother's apartment in Rome. He wants modern furniture, although the great new furniture by Le Corbusier, Breuer, or Mies van der Rohe is too expensive. Two beds, two bridge tables, and four folding chairs prove sufficient for months. A. has no time to shop, his taste is rigorous, yet he must select among items produced in American factories. (It will take two years to get a dining-room table, manufactured by the Herman Miller Company in Zeeland, Michigan.)

A. and Philip talk fervently about architecture and the design of furniture and industrial objects. It is important to find a name, a tag, a label for the style exemplified in the work of Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, etc. Finding a term for this movement is constantly at the back of their minds. A., remembering his art history, says, "Why not International Style?"—the classification under which such painters as Gentile da Fabriano and Pisanello are grouped because they reflect influences from beyond the Alps.

October 16-November 23

Corot-Daumier exhibition. It is suggested that there are some fakes in this show,

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mostly of Daumier. Dealers feel that A. is invading their territory.

October 20

A small oil painting by Daumier, *The Print Collectors,* belonging to the dealer Josef Stransky, is stolen. Photographs are circulated internationally. (It is never recovered.) The convention is to murmur, "Oh, it must have gone to South America."

Autumn

A. and M. are asked to lunch and sometimes to tea by Mrs. John D. (Abby Aldrich) Rockefeller, Jr. On the fourth floor of the mansion on Fifty-fourth Street she has a hideout where she hangs works of art she has acquired, often at the suggestion of A., that are too small and too modern for the rest of the house. About contemporary art she likes to chat with a distinguished though unassuming gentleman, Eustache de Lorey, whom she must have introduced to her recent friends Lizzie Bliss and Mary (Mrs. Cornelius Jr.) Sullivan, who had been a friend of John Quinn and knew many artists active in New York.

A. goes to see the two Hooker girls, Helen and Adelaide ("Peter"), whom he knows from Vassar. Surprisingly, these two had gone to Russia alone and unescorted. As they all chat in the hall, a little girl in her nightgown leans over the banister and peeps into the stairwell. It is Blanchette, their younger sister (who will later become Mrs. John D. Rockefeller III).

1931

March 12

Lizzie Bliss dies. Her memorial is held a few days later in her apartment, in the ample, skylit gallery resplendent with her pictures. She has bequeathed her collection conditionally to the museum.

March 13-April 26

Exhibition "German Painting and Sculpture" includes twenty-one painters and seven sculptors (Oskar Schlemmer represented in both mediums). The painters are Willy Baumeister (2 works), Max Beckmann (10), Heinrich Campendonk (2), Otto Dix (5), George Grosz (7), Erich Heckel (5), Karl Hofer (8), Ernst Ludwig Kirchner (4), Paul Klee (5), Paul Kleinschmidt (4), Oskar Kokoschka (4), Franz Marc (6), Paula Modersohn-Becker (2), Johannes Molzahn (2), Otto Mueller (3), Emil Nolde (6), Max Pechstein (3), Christian Rohlfs (3), Oskar Schlemmer (2), Karl Schmidt-Rottluff (5), Georg Schrimpf (3); the sculptors are Ernst Barlach (5 works), Rudolf Belling (6), Ernesto de Fiori (5), Georg Kolbe (8), Gerhard Marcks (5), Oskar Schlemmer (1), Renée Sintenis (4). The catalogue introduction by A. touches upon many subjects: the characteristics of German art, Expressionism, the Brücke, the Blaue Reiter, postwar developments such as the "architectonic" style of Baumeister and Schlemmer (aligned with the work of Ozenfant and Léger in France and the Italian Valori Plastici), Neue Sachlichkeit ("new objectivity"). The catalogue also includes a list of modern art in German museums.

May 17-October 6

Memorial Exhibition: "The Collection of the late Lillie P. Bliss." At the service preceding the opening Mrs. August (Eleanor) Belmont, one of several distinguished speakers, says in her eulogy, "God gave us memory so that we might have roses in December."

Early June

Arrive at Hotel Continental, Paris, on June 4 to prepare the Matisse exhibition planned for November. An impressive Matisse retrospective opens at the Galeries Georges Petit (June 16-July 25), organized by the dealers Bernheim-Jeune and Etienne Bignou. (These

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are large galleries available for rent, much in use since the late nineteenth century.) Matisse is there with his daughter, Marguerite. He is quite healthy and most agreeable in manner. Marguerite resembles the many portraits her father has painted of her, often with a black ribbon around her neck. (At an early age Marguerite had had trouble with her thyroid glands, and in those days there was nothing to do but operate, leaving a scar.) Since 1925 she has been the wife of the eminent critic Georges Duthuit.

Matisse has recently returned from Tahiti. When A. inquires what had prompted such a long journey, Matisse replies that he had wanted to see the light of the Marquesas Islands, so vividly rendered by Gauguin. However, Matisse observes, the natives seem to have lost some of their primitive freshness even since F.W. Murnau went there (1929) to direct his film *Tabu.**

A. and M. go often to the Galeries Georges Petit. Invariably Albert Barnes is there lecturing to a group of students from the United States. They sit in a circle on folding stools; the French eye the group with merriment. No university professor would be allowed to hold forth day after day to a large group in a gallery where the public is charged a stiff price of admission, but Barnes is an active and wealthy collector and Bignou cannot deny him the privilege.

In the back room at Pierre Colle's small gallery off the rue La Boétie is a handsome vertical painting by Salvador Dali with a tall cypress against an opalescent sky; its title is *Le Grand Masturbateur*. Dali shows up wearing a threadbare raincoat on a sunny day. He is emaciated and intense. He whips a postcard out of his pocket. It is a photograph of a scene in a French African colony of natives lounging or sitting with their backs to a tent. Dali turns the card vertically and a head appears. He is complacent; only he could have seen this double image.

* This sensitive, brilliant silent film, released in 1931 (a week after Murnau's death), is much admired in art circles because it evokes sights made familiar by the paintings of Gauguin.

Late June/early July

In Berlin. Many hours in the Kaiser-Friedrich Museum and the Kronprinzen Palais. Meet Philip Johnson; look with rapt admiration at Schinkel buildings.

From Berlin by train to Bad Gastein, the Austrian spa, to meet Professor and Mrs. George Rowley. In a tourist art shop A. spots a single "old" painting. It is a greenish brown landscape with a white target in the middle. The dealer approaches with a smile and turns the picture upward. The head of a rugged old man appears in profile and the target becomes his eye. To A. and M. this is too good to be true; here is a sixteenth-century double image, and they buy the picture enthusiastically.**

Fresh from London, Harold Stanley (Jim) Ede comes to see A. at the Hotel Continental. He has an important position at the Tate Gallery, and his book on the Polish sculptor Gaudier-Brzeska, *Savage Messiah,* has just come out. Amazingly, he presents A. with a bright handkerchief. A. is surprised but pleased. It is fashionable to wear a colored handkerchief in your breast pocket.

There is an immense Colonial Exhibition in Paris this summer. It contains a huge, probably literal, copy of the Temple of Angkor Wat. Javanese and Balinese dancers perform. Paris is dazzled.

A. and M. go to the Ethnographical Museum in the Palais du Trocadéro in search of primitive art. Meet Georges-Henri Rivière, assistant director. He is cordial, most charming, speaks English. Asks A. and M. to lunch in his apartment. His houseboy is an Annamite.

** Later, in New York, Erwin Panofsky will pronounce this curious painting "School of Arcimboldo," after the sixteenth-century North Italian painter. When in 1936 A. reproduces this picture (in *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism*; Museum of Modern Art) with other precursors, the Surrealists, who have never heard of Arcimboldo, gather him into their fold.

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September

Back in New York. Professor Walter William Spencer Cook, of New York University's Graduate School (and future founder of the university's Institute of Fine Arts), invites Erwin Panofsky of the University of Hamburg to give a graduate course on Dürer; the course is held in the basement of the Metropolitan Museum under the Egyptian wing. Although Panofsky knows English well, he asks Professor Millard Meiss for the name of someone to help him linguistically. Meiss recommends M., and Panofsky becomes a family friend.

November 3-December 6

"Henri Matisse. Retrospective Exhibition." Catalogue includes introduction by A., translations of Matisse's "Notes d'un peintre" by M.

Late fall

M. meets Varian Fry, whom A. knew in Cambridge, where Fry was on the editorial staff of *The Hound & Horn*. He was wealthy then but is now reduced to abysmal poverty. He has recently married an English girl, Eileen Hughes, and they are spending the winter in an unheated country cottage belonging to Granville Hicks.

1932

February 10-March 23

"Modern Architecture, International Exhibition." Catalogue contains foreword by A., historical note by Philip Johnson, joint consideration of the extent of modern architecture by Johnson and Henry-Russell Hitchcock, and compilations by both men of chronologies of the life and work of the exhibited architects: Frank Lloyd Wright, Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, J. J. P. Oud, Mies van der Rohe, Raymond M. Hood, Howe & Lescaze, Richard J. Neutra, and Bowman Brothers. Text for the section on housing is by Lewis Mumford. This exhibition counts as a statement of the museum's position. It will affect architecture in the United States for many years to come.*

February

Philip Johnson, not yet an architect (he will receive his B. Arch. from Harvard in 1943), is to head the new Department of Architecture in the museum; announced in July.

March

Jere Abbott, associate director of the museum, leaves for Smith College, where he will be director of the Museum of Art and also teach some courses.

May 3

Official opening of the museum's new quarters in a large, five-story limestone townhouse at 11 West Fifty-third Street.

Spring

Mrs. Rockefeller (Abby), who sees A. very often, notices his exhaustion and knows about his constantly stinging eyes and persistent insomnia; a doctor of her choosing recommends a year's leave of absence. The trustees agree but suggest that he go on half salary to pay for a substitute. They select the critic and writer A. Holger Cahill, who has been at the Newark Museum for ten years. In order to prepare for the year's absence, A. remains in New York until September.

June

M. sails to Europe alone. She stops in Paris and rents for a short time Virgil Thomson's

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* Concurrently with the exhibition Hitchcock and Johnson prepared the book *International Style: Architecture since 1922*, which was published by W. W. Norton & Company in 1932. It is dedicated to M.

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apartment on the quai Voltaire. She goes morning and afternoon to the Picasso show at the Galeries Georges Petit. It is in part a retrospective but full of recent pictures, not only an array of the great "bone" pictures but also a recent series of intensely colorful canvases dominated by a semi-abstract blonde head. There are monumental stained-glass still lifes. The philodendron, which had recently become fashionable in Paris because of Arp's free forms, makes its appearance in wrought-iron sculptures and is a recurrent motif in these works of the early Thirties.

M. is invited to the *décrochage* (the unhanging). Picasso turns up clothed conventionally, hair parted on his left with the usual *mèche.* He is affable and walks back and forth through the largest gallery. He is pleased and self-assured in his success. M. stops him at the *Pierrot* of 1918 and asks why there are so many insistently brilliant colors in the folds of the white costume (after all, he is going toward the statuesque classical phase of the 1920s). He says, "That's true—it was a transitional picture." M. meets the famous dealer Ambroise Vollard for the first and only time. When he hears that she is part Italian he tells her that he published an edition of Dante. He looks just like his portraits: gigantic and with a yellowish face. M. tries to discover the owners of the pictures; their names are not disclosed in the catalogue. She does not know (and no one tells her) that the exhibition will be sent to Zurich in September, where it will be catalogued in a scholarly manner. (Many years later Dora Maar will remark that the Georges Petit exhibition marked the beginning of Picasso's international fame.)

The final matches for the Davis Cup are being played at the Stade Roland-Garros. M. goes with Professor Richard Offner, under whom she has begun to study at New York University; he becomes a lifelong friend. She is invited by Virgil Thomson and Maurice Grosser to Grosrouvre, where they have been lent a Henry IV farmhouse. There is a battered old piano there, which, Virgil says, sounds a lot like a harpsichord. He practices Bach's *Art of the Fugue* on it while Maurice paints M.'s portrait; he has had nothing to paint all winter, he says, but potatoes and eggs. It is a gentle, uneventful week. The only sight in the vicinity is the house of Landru, the professional murderer.

M. goes by train to Rome to be with her mother and takes her to the country.

September 17

The beginning of A.'s year off. He arrives in Naples on an Italian boat with the Peter Blumes. With M. a quick tour of Amalfi, Ravello, Naples. Then to Rome to M.'s mother's apartment. Later A. and M. proceed by train to Zurich to see the well-arranged Picasso show at the Kunsthaus. The catalogue lists all the lenders, so M.'s efforts in Paris to compile a list prove useless.

Late September/or early October

Philip Johnson, his mother, and sister join A. and M. in Switzerland. They embark on a memorable drive touching Fidenza (great Romanesque portal), Bologna, Rimini (Tempio Malatestiano), Borgo San Sepolcro (Piero's *Resurrection,* in its original place), Cortona (Santa Maria del Calcinaio), Caprarola (Vignola), and outside of Rome, the Villa Aldobrandini at Frascati. To both Philip and A. the past is as thrilling as the present, and these sites, seen together, become part of their visual repertory.

Autumn

In Rome wandering around churches and museums, A. decides to work on Baroque painting and begins to make a chart. At an auction in the Palazzo Rospigliosi, he buys a large painting entitled *Colosseum at Night*; it is anonymous, obviously school of Paul Brill (1554-1626).* A. hangs it in the dining

* *Colosseum at Night* is now in the Vassar College Art Gallery. Pamela Askew has identified it as by Willem van Nieuwland.

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room of the Scolari apartment, where it is seen by the Peter Blumes. (In Blume's *Eternal City* of 1934-37 [Museum of Modern Art], the dark cave at the left recalls, purely compositionally, the left-hand corner of the *Colosseum*.)

A. and M. pay a long visit to Giacomo Balla; he remembers his friendship with M.'s father and precisely where they used to sit on the causeway between the Pincio and the Villa Borghese. He gives M. two or three hand-painted postcards (now unfortunately lost). Balla's two daughters are there; very attentive, they are supposed to have copied or imitated their father's paintings. A. sees with great excitement the *Dog on Leash* of 1912 (purchased by A. Conger Goodyear and ultimately given to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo).

A. writes a list of desirable shows because Goodyear, and perhaps other trustees, are afraid the museum will run out of ideas.

EXHIBITIONS—List of Suggestions

General Exhibitions:

1. Abstract Design in Modern Art
2. Experimental Sculpture
3. Super-realism
4. Romantic Revival in Contemporary Painting
5. Art Nouveau Period (This period would be divided . . . as follows):
   a—Architecture and Decorative Arts (Van de Velde, Bing, Tiffany etc.)
   b—Painters, Sculptors, Graphic Artists, Poster Designers who are more or less related to Art Nouveau: Toulouse-Lautrec, van Gogh, Edvard Munch, Rodin, Minne, Beardsley, Vallotton (early), Schiele, Whistler (later work), Gauguin, Maillol (woodcuts), Klimt, Slevogt, de Carolis, Boldini, Walter Crane, Beerbohm, Nicholson, Picasso (early), Redon, Steinlen, Hodler, Sluyters.
6. Sources and Analogies: Late Japanese and XIV Century Gothic

The sense of design they have in common and to some extent the community of spirit among many of the artists, architects and decorators of the period 1885-1905 has never been shown in an exhibition though it is more noticeable than in many other periods (Debussy and Maeterlinck may be mentioned as characteristic in other arts).

October

This past June, the German painter George Grosz had arrived in New York to accept a summer appointment at the Art Students League. He returns to Germany now only to collect his family and is back in New York with his wife in January, 1933, narrowly in advance of Hitler's rise to power.

October 31-January 31, 1933

"American Painting and Sculpture 1862-1932." Exhibition mounted by Holger Cahill, includes Whistler's *Portrait of the Artist's Mother* borrowed from the Louvre by A. Conger Goodyear.

1933

January

After Christmas in Rome A. and M. take the long train trip through Milan and the Brenner Pass to Sankt Anton am Arlberg in Austria because M. still remembers how much fun it was in her Italian days to ski. Among the beginners at the ski school A. meets a German lady, Frau Jacob, who listens with interest when he tells her that he has been granted a year's leave to get over his insomnia. She says, "I've got just the man for you. A friend of mine, a violinist, couldn't make herself perform in public. This doctor cured her of her stage fright." Accordingly, A. writes Dr. Otto Garthe in Stuttgart.

Late January

A. and M. arrive in Stuttgart.

Dr. Garthe is charming and inspires confidence. He recommends the boardinghouse of Frau Hedwig Haag on Hölderlinstrasse. She is a distinguished and cultivated woman.

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There are some pictures on the drawing room walls and among them a seascape roughly painted with a palette knife. A. asks, "Who is it by?" and she replies, "Well—it's by Cézanne." Frau Haag's father, Friedrich Morstatt, as the representative of a German firm, had resided for a while in Marseilles and made friends with Fortuné Marion, a member of Cézanne's group of friends.*

In midtown Stuttgart some sort of excitement is in the air. The walls are covered with posters; many of them announce, "Erst Recht ein starkes Centrum." The Center party is the Catholic party and it is politically uncommitted; it can sway to the Right or to the Left.

In the pension at meals the guests eat in silence. To break the ice, A. turns to the Herr Professor and asks, "What party do you prefer?" Rather startled, the old man answers, and by and by the others join in. Not one of the six happens to be in favor of the National Socialist German Workers' Party, Hitler's party.

January 30

Adolf Hitler is named Chancellor of the Reich by President Paul von Hindenburg, the old war hero.

Frau Haag has just acquired a radio; few individuals own one. The guests listen to it avidly; it is a new toy. A. and M. don't listen; however, even at a distance they come to recognize by the staccato tones, the dramatic pauses of suspense, the voice of the Chancellor as he shouts or wheedles like a ham actor. The guests are converted; they cannot get enough of him. New hope and blind enthusiasm sweep the city and the country.

February 27

In Berlin this night the Reichstag building goes up in flames. The pension guests are convinced the "filthy Communists" are to blame.

Dr. Garthe at a small gathering introduces A. and M. to the architect Richard Döcker, who had worked in 1927 with Mies van der Rohe, Gropius, and Le Corbusier on the Weissenhofsiedlung, that anthology of International Style architecture that made Stuttgart famous in the last years of the Weimar Republic. Now the poor man has to redesign his current project with a gabled roof, because the *flache Dach* ("flat roof") is anathema to the new regime.

March

A. and M. go to the Kunstverein exhibition of the work of Oskar Schlemmer. Two weeks later they go again; all the Schlemmers are gone. The show was not supposed to close this soon. "Where are the Schlemmers?" A. asks in surprise. Silently he is shown the way to the back room where all the Schlemmers are stacked. The far wall is dominated by the *Bauhaustreppen (Bauhaus Stairway)*. For A. and M. this is the first symptom of the far-reaching consequences of National Socialist power. Soon the streets echo with the "Horst Wessel Lied," which starts with the cry "Die Fahne hoch!" ("The banners high!") The melody is infectious. Frau Haag is disconcerted when two fine young Brownshirts ring her bell and demand *Winterhilfe* ("winter help," collections of money or clothing for soldiers). This direct approach surprises her.

In theaters and concert halls there are lengthy self-righteous meetings in which the Nazi uplifting ideals are expounded. All disciplines will be affected: philosophy, history, the arts. Painting must be realistic and architecture conventional—either heavily classical or snug-cottage style. No more flat roofs,

* Frau Haag had kept Marion's letters, and they eventually formed the subject of an article: Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "Cézanne d'après les lettres de Marion à Morstatt 1865-88," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (January, 1937), pp. 37-58. The same article appeared as "Cézanne in the Letters of Marion to Morstatt, 1865-88," translated by Margaret Scolari with notes by Alfred H. Barr, Jr., in the *Magazine of Art* (February, 1938), pp. 84-89; (April), pp. 220-25; (May), pp. 288-91.

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stripped walls, or asymmetrical, rational designs. In the progressive Staatsgalerie the labels of modern pictures are covered with yellow and black paper streamers that proclaim, "for this trash 80,000 marks were paid!" Yellow and black labels obliterate the shingles of Jewish doctors and lawyers, and the two great department stores are boycotted.

A. and M. go on many little expeditions out of Stuttgart. There is much to see, and A. is a genius with train timetables. In a village they happen upon a performance of the *Messiah*. A. and M. are delighted, M. especially because she has never heard it. At the Hallelujah A. rises to his feet and grasps M.'s elbow to do the same. The villagers glance at them in surprise. They know nothing of the tradition, established by George II, of rising at this point in the music.

Dr. Garthe kindly asks A. and M. to a little reception and an evening of music. He feels that A. should learn to play and convinces him to buy a recorder, but A. has no patience; he just whistles and that he does most beautifully. M. learns from him the melody of Frescobaldi's wild song: "Son tre giorni gia che Nina." In an aside Dr. Garthe turns to M. and remarks, "Er ist ein undankbarer Mensch." She does not know his reason.

April/May

The winter has seemed endless. Dr. Garthe suggests going to seek the sun in Ascona on Lake Maggiore. On the way to Switzerland, in Nürnberg and Munich, the museums also label in yellow and black any picture that might give umbrage to the new regime. The hotel room in Ascona has a balcony. Instead of sunbathing, A. writes for many hours a day a set of articles to be entitled "Hitler and the Nine Muses." He is fuming. Not only the visual arts will be affected, he writes, but music, history, literature. He has no doubt that what he writes will be published. He has never been turned down. As it turns out, neither the daily newspapers nor the periodicals—*The Nation, Harper's, Scribner's, North American Review, The New Republic*—are interested. Is it indifference or disbelief? Only *The Hound & Horn,* edited by his friend Lincoln Kirstein, responds and accepts his chapter on film. ("Notes on the Film: Nationalism in German Films" was published in the January, 1934 issue, pp. 278-83.) The rest of A.'s writing from this trip will be published only years later in the *Magazine of Art* (October, 1945, pp. 212-22). In the excerpt below, from "Art in the Third Reich—Preview, 1933," A. describes a meeting of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur,* an official affiliate of the National Socialist party:

> Stuttgart, the capital of Württemberg, is known to most Americans as a railroad center through which one passes on the way from Paris to Munich. It is a city of less than 400,000 people, conservative, prosperous for these times, bourgeois in atmosphere in spite of its only recently untenanted Royal Palace. The foreigner is astonished by its dozen museums, its theatres, its excellent opera, its profusion of concerts and its quantity of good modern architecture. Though Tübingen, the nearest university, is an hour away, Stuttgart is proud of its intellectual as well as of its artistic life. Even for the average citizen, Schiller, Hölderlin, Hegel, Kant, Feuerbach are something more than the names of Stuttgart streets.
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> Württembergers are traditionally phlegmatic, and Stuttgart took its revolution very calmly. The National Socialist government established itself with little apparent trouble . . . . The surviving newspapers resounded with the glory of the National Resurgence. Rathenau Street, named for a Social Democratic statesman murdered by the Nazis in 1922, was renamed Göring Street; postcards of the Leader, grim of face, his arm raised in the fascist salute, spoke from all shop windows; and there were parades by night and day. In the evening one heard from every other house the strained voices of Hitler or Goebbels shouting over a Berlin microphone. But those who recalled the machine guns of St. Petersburg in 1917, Berlin in 1919, Rome in 1922, Munich in 1923, had little fault to find with the

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efficient disciplined technique of the Nazis. They were surprised, however, at the thoroughness and rapidity with which the new order invaded every business and profession, every intellectual and cultural activity.

On April the 9th, a little over a month after the National Socialist Revolution, the Württemberg Chapter of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur* held its first public meeting. The *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur*, literally the "Battle Band for German Culture," is an official affiliate of the National Socialist party. Its headquarters are in Munich but it has organized subordinate groups in every important German city. These local groups work hand in hand with the civic governments and with the state ministers of education who in Germany usually supervise general cultural activities as well as schools and universities. In this way the *Kampfbund* with national, state, and local governmental support is able to dominate to an extraordinary degree almost every phase of the cultural life of Germany.

The meeting was held in the smaller of Stuttgart's two civic theatres. We found the theatre crowded. In the seats of honor were the State President of Württemberg, the State Commissar and the *Kultminister* (Minister of Education). Behind them, row on row, sat painters, sculptors, musicians, architects, teachers, critics and many of the most active amateurs of the arts in Stuttgart. They had been gathered together to hear what was expected of them under the new government.

The orchestra on the stage opened the meeting with Bach's Second Brandenburg Concerto. Then a young man walked out from the wings and stood gravely behind the lectern. He opened a copy of the white pamphlet which many of us had bought on entering the theatre. He was Dr. Otto zur Nedden, who had been till recently on the faculty of the University of Tübingen but was now making his first appearance as the newly appointed head of the Württemberg *Kampfbund*. The pamphlet was the *"Kulturprogramm im neuen Reich"* which he had edited under the direction of the *Kultminister*. He began to read *Kultminister* Mergenthaler's preface:

"It is an important cultural duty of the regime of the new National Resurgence to set free from any foreign, external influence our native creative personalities and by so doing to give them the possibility of increasing their vitality. Then will our people be enriched by those creators who are summoned to bring German art and culture to a new flowering."

The reader stopped and raised his head. There was silence, then hesitant handclapping. He turned the page and in the audience five hundred pages turned:

"Universities

"The universities and technical schools were in the past the special pride of our people. No country in the world can call its own so many centers of true spiritual culture. It belongs to the sorriest chapters of the history of the last fourteen years that our universities and technical schools in a mistaken interpretation of the expression 'academic freedom' have in general given way to the spirit of liberalism. But now a new day has dawned! Academic freedom shall and must be preserved. It is the right of the free creative spirit. *But it must be a German academic freedom!* It must never again be misused to open the door to insidious foreign influences. If this misuse should continue, it would lead to the end of academic freedom. Therefore, to take steps to guard academic freedom in the *German sense of the word* has been and will be one of the most important duties of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur.*" (The italics in this and other quotations are in the original text.)

This pledge bore the signature of State Counsellor Prof. Dr. Oswald Lehnich of Stuttgart. It was followed with two statements written by Tübingen professors, one on history, another on philosophy. Single sentences convey the import:

"Philosophy, too, is besieged by un-German influences. But now the hour of awakening has struck!" (Prof. Max Wundt.)

"Much more than before it will be the duty of the science of history to grapple with the problem of the German people's adjustment to foreign cultural influence." (Prof. Adelbert Wahl.)

Then in succession came architecture and poetry, and music and the pictorial arts:

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"The widely held contemporary belief that art is international is absolutely misleading."

"What does not issue out of the depths of the spirit with conscious responsibility toward German culture, is not art in the German sense of the word."

The reading of the manifesto closed with a section on the theatrical arts by the General Director of the Württemberg State Theatres:

"The National Revolution has stirred the deepest depths (*tiefsten Tiefen*) of our people. The reformation of the political life of Germany to its original condition has been achieved. Now will German art and science carry German culture deep into the spiritual life of our people. To build up this great cultural work, to watch over it, to guard its purest springs, is, as I see it, the function of the *Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur.* So with the coöperation of the *Kampfbund* I wish to announce today the first practical step: a prize competition for a play, to have its first presentation on the stage of the Württemberg Theatre."

The audience followed the recitation of these eleven articles of politico-cultural faith with an almost liturgical solemnity. The hand-clapping following each statement was sporadic. We watched one row of ten listeners carefully: two clapped regularly after every section, but five never clapped at all . . . .

Philip Johnson comes to Stuttgart to stay for a short visit. He thinks that the "Nationale Erhebung" ("National Resurgence") will be the salvation of Germany. A. tells him about the Schlemmer *Bauhaus Stairway*; and he buys it and gives it to the museum.*

M. leaves to see her mother in Rome. On the way she stops in Milan and with the help of the Ghiringhelli brothers, who run the wonderful Galleria del Milione, she manages to visit the Triennale di Architettura before it opens, about which she will write an article for *The New York Times,* excerpted here.

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* This was the first sale of a Schlemmer work outside Germany and the last to a museum during Schlemmer's lifetime.

. . . Since the advent of Fascism, imperious and repeated calls have been voiced from the highest quarters for the creation of a "Fascist style." The early results brought forth by this appeal cover loosely a period of nine or ten years and are confusing and uninspiring, to say the least. The three main tendencies apparent in the countless official and private buildings that sprang up all over Italy after the firm establishment of the régime all drew inspiration from past architectural glories.

. . . In all these arbitrary revivals only the most superficial aspects and elements of the past forms were used, with maddening misinterpretations of the very essence of the originals.

. . . Some three years ago the first signs of rebellion on the part of the younger architects became apparent. A few unimportant buildings were constructed on severer lines and with a conscious absence of ornament. Here were the first attempts to use what we in America have come to call the "international" style, more happily termed "razionale" in Italy. Its chance of rapid spreading would have been as slender here as it is in the United States but for the courage of an enterprising young critic, who staged an architectural exhibition that proved of historic importance, thanks to its far-reaching effects.

The chief revolutionary feature in this show was a huge photomontage, where Italian bad taste in architecture was emphatically ridiculed by placing the recent works of the imitative architects alongside of the worst horrors of the Nineties.

. . . The Milan Triennale of 1933 marks the ultimate triumph of this advance guard, whose ranks have swelled enormously since Mussolini voiced his approval. Schools, hotels, Alpine huts, station sheds, houses for workmen, farmers, aviators, houses for mountain and seaside, houses showing special uses of cement, steel, celotex, all are in the rational style . . . .

To expect perfection in a style still in its experimental stages would be absurd. Few of the exhibiting architects have traveled much. They have read and studied foreign books and periodicals; they have assimilated the funda-

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In Fond Memory
of
Alfred Barr, Jr.

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ROBERT KEYSER
TEN YEARS
1977–1987

The Temple Gallery
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April 22–May 30, 1987

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Joseph and Margaret Muscarelle Museum of Art
College of William and Mary
Williamsburg, VA
January 29–March 6, 1988

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> mentals of the international style; they are convinced of its reasonableness and handsomeness; but their knowledge of great masters such as Corbusier, Oud, Gropius and Mies van der Rohe is mostly second-hand. It is therefore all the more creditable that the principles of the style should in many instances have been so well understood and reinterpreted.
>
> Just because these young Italians are relatively unshackled by dogma, they have dared to make innovations that may prove very fruitful in the evolution of the international style . . . .

In Rome M. sees for the last time a schoolmate of hers, Giuseppina Antinori, who is now the wife of the German diplomat Braun von Stumm. Antinori is irresistibly charming and beautiful and seems to have free access to Mussolini. (In fact, she is a transmission line between the two dictators. In Berlin in the year of the Phony War [fall 1939-spring 1940] she was resting quietly conversing with her small daughter who was lying on the other bed when suddenly and in silence she jumped headlong out the open window to her death.)

M. rejoins A. in Paris. He has decided for this short stay to try out the Hotel France et Choiseul. It is unsatisfactory.

Josiah Marvel, director of the Museum of Fine Arts in Springfield, gives a lunch in the Hôtel Matignon with the painters Jean Lurçat and Louis Marcoussis, who have a violent and loud argument. Lurçat is a card-carrying Communist and an enthusiastic follower of a Parisian baker (*boulanger*) who is very inspiring. Lurçat accuses Marcoussis of being a luxury painter, "Tu es un peintre de luxe." He means that Marcoussis paints for the pleasure of the wealthy and that his work carries no social message.* A. anxiously inquires from Joe Marvel whether he likes the Matignon and whether the telephone works. As a result, the Matignon will become museum headquarters until August, 1939.

July

A. and M. arrive back in New York. The city shows signs of public works. The atmosphere under Roosevelt feels energetic and liberal.

August

Iris Barry becomes museum librarian. On August 6, *The New York Times* publishes M.'s review of the Milan Triennale di Architettura.

September

In this academic year Professor Sachs gives his famous museum course for the last time.

November 1-December 7

"Edward Hopper: Retrospective Exhibition." Catalogue contains introduction by A., an appreciation by the American painter Charles Burchfield, and "Notes on Painting" by Edward Hopper. A. hopes to call the attention of the public to this relatively unnoticed artist with this exhibition.

1934

January 16-February 26

"Theatre Art" exhibition. A. has conferred lengthily in the previous months with Lee Simonson, director of the exhibition. The handsome building of the Theatre Guild, to which Simonson belongs, is adjacent to the museum. Actors and actresses attend the opening and, surprisingly, so does the newly appointed Soviet ambassador to Washington, Aleksandr Troyanovsky.

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* Marcoussis is indeed, as a person, rather hedonistic and worldly. In the late Thirties in New York he will turn up at dinner at Helena Rubinstein's, and in describing some Paris hostess in his conversation with M. will exclaim, "Elle avait le plus beau nombril de Paris!" Lurçat is younger than Marcoussis, prematurely bald, very handsome and earnest. He is wined and dined in New York.

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February 6-March 1

Exhibition "Pablo Picasso" opens at the Wadsworth Atheneum in Hartford. It is the first Picasso exhibition in an American museum. The director, A. Everett Austin, has obtained impressive foreign loans.* This exhibition seems enviable to A. but passes unnoticed by the trustees of the Museum of Modern Art.

February 10-11

Removal of Diego Rivera's mural in the RCA Building.

On the advice of his wife, who admired Rivera's work in the exhibition of his paintings the museum had mounted in 1931, John D. Rockefeller, Jr., had commissioned Rivera to paint a fresco in the lobby of 30 Rockefeller Plaza, the main skyscraper in the cluster of buildings that was rising at his behest in a city visibly plagued by the unemployment of the Depression. In late March, 1933, scaffolding was put up and Rivera began work on his mural, which was to depict "human intelligence in control of the forces of nature." Interested persons were able to watch the master paint.

Gradually one could discern the figure of John D. Rockefeller who, in Rivera's allegory, symbolized capitalism (the Depression had not affected Rockefeller's fortune or that of J.P. Morgan). However, when early in May the unmistakable figure of Lenin began to appear majestically in the center, the statement seemed too overt for a public monument. Rivera was asked to substitute Lenin's face with that of an unknown person. His alternative proposal was refused. He was paid in full, and the mural was concealed under a cream-colored canvas.

The tumult that Rivera's dismissal had evoked at the time now bursts forth again when it becomes known that during the night of February 10-11 workmen hacked out the wall and replastered it. The clandestine destruction of the painting provokes meetings and threats of boycotts from artists' groups.**

February 28

"Municipal Art" exhibition opens in the RCA Building. Contains 1,500 works of art selected by Holger Cahill, who at the last moment falls ill and cannot install it. Dorothy Miller, a Smith College graduate who had worked at the Newark Museum, undertakes this formidable task. A. is on the jury of the exhibition.

March 5-April 29

"Machine Art." Exhibition selected and installed by Philip Johnson. A. writes the preface to the catalogue. The design collection begins with this exhibition but only as part of the museum's Department of Architecture.

April

Throughout the Thirties, Russian ballet companies come to New York, but the ballet

* A. Everett (Chick) Austin (1900-1957) and A. met in Cambridge when Austin was assisting Edward Forbes, director of the Fogg Art Museum, in his course in painting techniques and A. was teaching at Wellesley and taking graduate courses at Harvard. Austin was then appointed to the Wadsworth Atheneum, where he became a brilliant director, responsible for this historic Picasso exhibition; for providing *Four Saints in Three Acts* (opera by Virgil Thomson, libretto by Gertrude Stein) with its premier production; for building a gracious covered court and galleries as the enlargement of the Wadsworth Atheneum. After many years there, he became director of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art in Sarasota, Florida, and expanded its collection.

** The Spanish painter José Maria Sert (1874-1945) was then engaged, who produced some brown grisailles of meaningless heroic grandeur. Sert, for many years the husband of the legendary Misia Nathanson, portrayed by Toulouse-Lautrec, Bonnard, and Vuillard, had recently married a Georgian princess of the Mdivani family.

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is not popular; it is possible to go at the last moment, buy cheap seats, and sit in the orchestra. The Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo offers a program of its classical repertory and the premiere of a new ballet, *Union Pacific* (scenario by Archibald MacLeish, choreography by Léonide Massine). A. invites three young stars from the ballet to visit the museum: Tamara Toumanova, Tatiana Riabouchinska, and Irinia Baronova. He poses them in front of Picasso's *Theatre Box* (1921), a portion of the scenery Picasso had painted for Diaghilev's Ballets Russes. A. asks, "And what do you do while you are here in New York?" They raise their eyebrows and puff, "Répétitions, répétitions." *

May 15-18

Whistler's *Mother,* first shown in "American Painting and Sculpture 1862-1932," is re-exhibited for four days after a triumphal tour of the United States. The U.S. Post Office issues a stamp of the portrait with the addition of a vase of flowers. A., once a philatelist, writes a letter of protest.

June 7

M. sails to join her mother in Rome. They decide to go to San Martino al Cimino, where her mother becomes very sick.

Throughout the summer, first in New York and later in Greensboro, A. works on the forthcoming fifth anniversary exhibition.

September

The American Federation of Arts in co-operation with the museum announces a program of radio talks called "Art in America," made possible by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation. The series, directed by René d'Harnoncourt, will be broadcast every Saturday night on NBC from October 6 through January 26, 1935.**

October 1

Dorothy Miller joins the staff of the museum as assistant to the director.

November 19-January 20, 1935

"Modern Works of Art, Fifth Anniversary Exhibition." Catalogue by A. contains thumbnail summaries of directions in the arts both in the United States and abroad; the artists are grouped by movements, so that the thirty-one Americans included are interpolated with artists of other nationalities.

The trustees are in a mood of self-congratulation. Often in these past five years, the small institution had seemed to falter. They lend some of their prize pictures to the museum with justifiable pride. Gauguin's *Spirit of the Dead Watching* is lent by A. Conger Goodyear; Seurat's *Side Show* is lent by Stephen C. Clark; Balla's *Dog on Leash,* listed as "Collection of the Artist, Rome" is purchased by Goodyear. As the guiding spirit behind these purchases, A. is confident that eventually, by gift or bequest, these works will form the cornerstone of the museum's future collection.†

December

Mr. and Mrs. Nelson Rockefeller meet Mr. and Mrs. René d'Harnoncourt at the Alfred Barrs.

On December 4, Philip Johnson, chair-

* In 1969 A. and M. are guests of the Henry Cliffords at Mont-Pélerin-sur-Vevey. A couple is invited to dinner; the woman turns out to be Baronova. She remembers the visit to the museum.

** Published as a consequence *Art in America: A Complete Survey,* edited by Holger Cahill and Alfred H. Barr, Jr. (Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934). René d'Harnoncourt becomes director of MOMA in 1949 and remains director until his death in 1968.

† This was not to be. Goodyear's Gauguin and Balla paintings went eventually to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo; the Seurat is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, to which it came as part of the Stephen C. Clark Bequest.

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man of the Department of Architecture, and Alan Blackburn, the museum's executive director, resign.

A. and M. go to call on Etta Cone in Baltimore. She and her sister, Dr. Claribel, were family friends, but Claribel died in 1929 and Etta goes on alone in her large apartment very full of furniture. She is delighted to see A. and to show her paintings. She shows him a Matisse she has bought since her sister's death, the *Jeune fille en jaune.* A. says he is glad that she is continuing to collect (though he happens to dislike the picture). All of a sudden she turns to A. and says, "Have you ever seen my jewels?" She opens a small chest with shallow drawers and reveals extraordinary antique and Renaissance jewels.

M. is worried because she and A. accept many social engagements and never reciprocate. A. hates to stay up late into the evening in conversation; in fact, he always asks M. anxiously when she thinks they might leave. So M. decides to give an eggnog party, 11:30 to 1:30 on Christmas day. It is a hit. People love to come.

Marianne Moore lives in Brooklyn with her aged mother. A. and M. see her intermittently, but A. more often during the course of his museum days because she comes to look at the pictures. They are more than friends. There is a special affinity between them, based to an extent on their knowledge and love of the prehistoric world and its mysterious creatures. Just once A. dares to invite her to Christmas eggnog. Will she disapprove on Christmas morning? Does she object to drinking? She arrives tall and willowy in her black velvet tricorne hat. Her presence is so magical that all worry disappears.

1935

May 28

A. and M. sail for Hamburg on the *Bremen,* third class. It crosses in five days; only the *Normandie* measures up to that speed. In the same class is Varian Fry, editor of the *Living Age,* a friend of A.'s since the days of *The Hound & Horn.* He is trying to learn German because he is going to Berlin to look into the treatment of the Jews. (In 1940 in Marseilles, he will be instrumental in harboring refugees and planning escape routes from France.)

June 2

From Hamburg, where the landing is welcomed with a brass band, A. and M. stop between trains to pay homage to the bronze doors of Hildesheim cathedral; thence to Hanover.

A. had first seen the Hanover Landesmuseum in 1928. He walks through the galleries with the director, Alexander Dorner, and after a while asks about the special installation of abstract painting designed by El Lissitzky in 1925. With a shadow of a smile, Dorner draws aside a curtain. Behold, the gallery is still intact; at least for the moment it has escaped the attention of the authorities. Dorner is worried about the works of art in his museum and, naturally, about himself, because he is known for his advanced taste. (In 1937 he and his alert, delightful wife will seek refuge in the United States.)

At Kurt Schwitters's house a young man opens the door. He is the artist's son, a photographer of animals. Schwitters himself is already in Norway. Passing the cold, tiled kitchen where he has been eating bread and liverwurst, he shows the way to the famous *Merzbau,* installed in a back room by his father. It is like a cave; the stalactites and stalagmites of wood junk and stray rubbish picked from the streets are joined together to fill the whole room from floor to ceiling and walls to walls. A. and M. are silenced. The effect is mesmerizing. How did the artist intend to display it? (The *Merzbau* did not survive the war.)

On the train to Amsterdam a pair of Brownshirts follow the conductor as he checks the tickets. At the Dutch border they supervise the police officer who inspects

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passports. They take A. and M.'s passports out into the corridor and page through them intently, backward and forward. Finally, they stamp and return them. (Later in New York, Dorner will hint that of course A. and M. were shadowed throughout their stay in Hanover.)

M. has never been to Holland. In the taxi on the way to the hotel A. remarks, "You'll see how good the coffee is." The next morning A. rings for breakfast. A waiter brings in a tray with coffee, a plate of cold cuts, sliced cheese, and a basket of assorted breads. The coffee is watery and bitter.

The Hague is just an hour from Amsterdam. A. and M. go for the day to make hotel reservations and appointments. The weather is bleak; they stop for coffee at the Café Old Dutch. M. goes upstairs to wash her hands and, especially, to warm them in the running hot water. Rejoining A., and even before their order appears, she exclaims, "Where's my ring?" She must have left it on the shelf above the washbasin. She runs upstairs. The ring is gone.

M. is desperate. The ring has a string of sentimental associations. She can think of nothing else. A. organizes a search. He writes notices, has them translated for the papers, and alerts the American consulate and the embassy. Days pass and hope dwindles as M. remembers episodes connected with the ring.

The loss of the ring is a counterpoint to all the work of the summer. A. sees M.'s earlier life through her stories of her family and constantly sympathizes with her. She can never forgive herself. She keeps remembering.

In 1912 Auntie Katie brought the ring from Paris. It was intended for Auntie Elsie, the Antigone of the family, as a token of gratitude for the care she has taken of M.'s grandfather and grandmother.

In 1917 Auntie Elsie is a nurse at the British hospital at San Giovanni di Manzana. When the Austrians break through the Italian front at Caporetto, the hospital is evacuated in a few hours. The wounded fill the ambulances, trucks, and cars. The staff must flee on foot. Auntie Elsie, wearing the ring, stuffs a few essentials into a satchel and, with the doctors and nurses, begins the long march downhill, joining the stream of retreating troops and civilian population. All must converge on the Tagliamento bridge; miraculously, she is not crushed by the crowd, which spills over into the river. She walks and walks and eventually reaches a safe haven in Padua.

In 1928 Auntie Elsie dies in London; M. inherits the ring. It is a double curve setting, which at the time of Art Nouveau was called a *toi et moi.* It has two diamonds. When she marries she says to A., "Please don't give me a ring. I want to wear this one."*

In Amsterdam the first official contacts for the van Gogh show are with Dr. Schmidt-Degener, director of the Rijksmuseum, who delegates all responsibility to the assistant director, Dr. D. C. Roell.

Of great importance is A.'s meeting with the engineer V. W. van Gogh. Fortunately, like so many educated Dutch, he speaks English. He is the son of Theo, Vincent's long-suffering brother and protector, and Theo's wife, Johannah Bonger. He has his uncle's translucent rosy complexion, a soft voice, and benign manner. He has inherited and treasures many oils and drawings and is disposed to lend, as he had done once before, in 1929, for the first exhibition of the Museum of Modern Art.

A., already deep in the subject, converses with him at length, hoping to confirm or revise what he has gathered from books. The engineer is a treasure house of remembrances filtered through the memory of his mother, who witnessed the flowering of Vincent's talent and the drama of his faltering mind and suicide.

The subject of van Gogh's compulsion to help the destitute prompts A. to ask whether Vincent had socialist leanings. The engineer absolutely denies this notion. He says that Vincent "had never heard of Marx, and that socialism was unknown in Holland."

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* According to Italian convention, it is bad form for an unmarried woman to wear expensive rings.

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A. and M. move to the Hotel des deux Villes in The Hague and go by taxi to nearby Wassenaar to call on Madame H. Kröller-Müller. She is middle-aged, highly dignified, and from the first well-inclined toward the exhibition. Mr. Kröller-Müller does not appear. Interested in the project and constantly in attendance is Mr. S. van Deventer, a gentleman of about fifty who speaks English with ease.

The collection is vast. After making a slow tour of the drawing room, which is rather dark, A. asks whether he could see some of the van Goghs in the open air. Bernard, the butler, carries one canvas after another and stands them against the clipped hedge. *La Berceuse, Portrait of an Actor,* and *Bridge at Arles* are even more vibrant in the sunlight; but the less dramatic ones, such as *Ravine* and *Grass,* come to life in the richness of their secret colors.

A. is encouraged to return as often as he wishes and is given the use of a small study on the ground floor. The next day he brings his reference books. He puts in several long mornings looking at the pictures and thinking about his selections. The catalogue that must accompany the show is constantly on his mind; he reads and re-reads Vincent's letters to his brother. It is stirring to penetrate the artist's mind at work; to see what the subject meant to him, to feel the intensity of his emotions translated into a deliberate violation of correct draftsmanship and conventional colors. A. writes Meyer Schapiro to consult him. In his answering letter (dated July 25, 1935), Schapiro agrees that the introduction should consist solely of quotations from the letters.

Every day at eleven Bernard appears with coffee and biscuits. The coffee is excellent. The first morning A. turns to him with a smile and asks, "What *is* this wonderful coffee?" "Instant Nestle, sir," is the reply.

Twice A. and M. are asked to stay for lunch. (Mr. Kröller-Müller is served apart in a remote corner of the garden.) The conversation is never casual or humorous, always earnest. Little by little A. and M. begin to understand the history of the collection, as well as the constant presence of Mr. van Deventer. Madame Kröller-Müller was born in Germany; her maiden name was Müller, and when she married her husband incorporated his name into hers. In 1907 she had been fired with enthusiasm under the inspiration of an artist named H.P. Bremmer (just as Mrs. Havemeyer was inspired by Mary Cassatt, and Katherine Dreier by Marcel Duchamp). At first she bought only van Goghs, but later her taste widened to include Seurat's *Le Chahut* and, after the war, many other more recent French paintings, mostly purchased from the dealer Léonce Rosenberg. She did not neglect the Dutch; although she preferred Mondrian, she did not overlook Jan Toorop and Thorn Prikker. For the Expressionists she had no use whatsoever.

In 1928 she and her equally philanthropic husband turned the entire collection over to a foundation which took their name. They wanted to share their works of art with others and envisioned ideal museum buildings. By now Mr. van Deventer is the administrator of the foundation and this explains why he is always at Madame's side.* For years, she has been involved with architecture. She seems propelled by an inexhaustible desire to have a project in hand. Or is it, perhaps, a wish to extend her patronage from one artist to another? Over the years she has commissioned architects such as Mies van der Rohe, Hendrik Berlage, Peter Behrens, Henri Van de Velde to design, and occasionally to build, houses, museums, art centers, model farms, hunting lodges. Her restless search does not seem at an end. (When, after the Second World War, her collection becomes the State Museum in Otterlö, no less than fifteen thousand architectural drawings will be on file.)

At last A.'s mind is made up. Madame Kröller-Müller endorses all his requests: the

* The Kröller-Müller Museum opened in The Hague in the summer of 1938; Madame Kröller-Müller died in 1939, two months after the beginning of the Second World War. In 1956 Mr. van Deventer published a history of the foundation.

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foundation will lend twenty-nine oils, as well as many drawings and watercolors. Mr. van Deventer lends from his private collection as well. And, with special generosity, Madame Kröller-Müller promises six Mondrians for the exhibition "Cubism and Abstract Art," which will follow the van Gogh show in the coming winter.

June 24

Paris. As planned, A. and M. try the Hotel Matignon. It is small and well run, and room 42 becomes their headquarters until 1939. On the agenda is the exhibition "Cubism and Abstract Art," which is scheduled for March, 1936. This time A. will have a small sum to spend for the museum, because Mrs. Rockefeller has entrusted him with $1,000. Since 1930 the Museum has been borrowing works of art but never buying.

In the first week, A. calls on the dealer Paul Rosenberg. With him, conversation is easy, since he speaks English, but with most of the artists M. must interpret because A. does not speak French with ease. Rosenberg raises his eyes to the sky and sighs, "Last year it was Matisse, this year it is Picasso!" As a dealer he is involved in the personal affairs of his artists. In 1934 Matisse had marital troubles, and this year Picasso seeks a legal separation from his wife, Olga. Rosenberg exclaims, "Imagine! He has stopped painting!" It is true. Picasso is nervous. Only when he feels like it does he work on his *Minotauromachy* etching.

Picasso takes A. and M. to his old apartment on the rue La Boétie; all the drawers and cupboards are tied with string and legally proscribed with large, stamped clots of red sealing wax. Picasso shows this to A. and M. with a certain pride, insisting again and again, "Look! Look what they've done to me!" Upstairs the apartment he used as a studio is full of dusty canvases stacked face to the wall. For nearly a year he hasn't touched a brush. There are rumblings from Spain; civil war is about to break out. Two or three boys—nephews or cousins—afraid they will have to take sides in the war turn up in Paris expecting his help, which he willingly gives.

Seeing Rosenberg and Picasso is only the beginning. Hunting for works for "Cubism and Abstract Art," A. visits many studios. By now the existence of the museum is no longer unknown, and artists are mostly expectant, though few are as welcoming as Larionov and Goncharova. They throw their arms around A. with tears in their eyes. They know his long devotion to the art of the country they will never see again. The same love of Russia enlivens his visit to Robert and Sonia Delaunay. Franz Kupka, the Czech painter, is ignored in Paris; being asked to show in New York brings him back to the world of the living.

An emptiness verging on the monastic distinguishes Piet Mondrian's studio—the bare necessities of life and his working materials, all in order, are in harmony with his uninflected tones as he describes how the sight of a dock extending into the sea affected his painting in its development toward abstract art. He earnestly follows the Hay diet, a system that compartmentalizes food so that one eats meat with vegetables, or starch with vegetables, but never the three at once. This appeals to his subdividing mind. He probably heard of it from Man Ray who, once chubby, has now become slim and youthful as a result.

Unlike Mondrian, Alberto Giacometti cares nothing about neatness and order. His diminutive studio is full of plaster shavings and dried-out clay. The floor has never been swept. (When, after the war, his Etruscan figures are published, A. will remark, "He scraped away, he took away till there was practically nothing left." He is associating Giacometti here with Michelangelo, who created by taking away, *levare.*)

For the photography section of the abstract show, A. wants to borrow some of Man Ray's rayographs, which, even in 1935, seem highly original and novel in technique. His studio is dominated by a monumental painting of a pink smile floating low in the sky above green meadows. These are the lips of

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Lee Miller, his beloved, but the title of the painting is deceptive in the best Surrealist manner. It is called *À l'heure de l'observatoire —les amoureux*. Man Ray is a great friend of the poet Paul Eluard, whose spirit pervades the work of the more imaginative Surrealists.

Outside a gallery two workmen are struggling to load a large bronze figure onto a small pickup truck. One of the men is Jacques Lipchitz. "Jump in," he says, "and we'll go to my studio." (A. will acquire this very same cast for the museum, which he affectionately nicknames "Goo-goo Eyes.")

A. and M. go to the rue du Douanier near the Parc Montsouris. Braque himself opens the door to his house, built for him by the brothers Perret. He is attended by two glossy Siamese cats. His blue eyes and fair complexion are typically Norman, his manner is reserved. He answers A.'s questions politely, but lets his technically impeccable work speak for itself. How can he have been so compatible for so many years with the dynamic Picasso that at times their pictures are indistinguishable?

Léger is jovial and exuberant. He shows his pictures quickly and enthusiastically and then proposes lunch. He loves to eat and drink. He speaks loud and clear, unhindered by the language barrier.

It is rare to come upon an artist *in flagrante*—truly—standing at his easel. A. and M. find Miró at work on his self-portrait. He paints as if he were embroidering in black silk on a pale blue ground, putting one ornament after another into the outline of his half-length figure. Dolores, his eight-year-old daughter, has a brush too, and she is allowed to insert whatever little kerri-wibble she likes in the lower right corner.

Before leaving Paris A. calls on Madame Doucet, widow of the impresario who launched the fashion house of Poiret. Here A. for the first time beholds the *Demoiselles d'Avignon*.* He doesn't have to ask to see it; it hangs at the head of a flight of stairs, directly above the entrance hall.

* In 1939, A. acquired *Les Demoiselles d'Avignon* for the Museum of Modern Art.

August 3

London. There is Henry Moore to see, and the painter Ben Nicholson. In a cheap hotel behind the Strand all the van Gogh papers and A.'s working notes disappear; the chambermaid has thrown them out! A. demands access to the hotel garbage and finds them.

August 15

A. sails from England on the SS *Columbus*. M. goes to Rome for her yearly visit to her mother; stops briefly in Florence to see Bernard Berenson.

In Vermont, his heart overflowing with sympathy for van Gogh, A. excerpts quotations from the artist's letters to his brother and matches them to the pictures that will go in the show. He dedicates the catalogue to Theo van Gogh.

Early September

A.'s father dies. A. meets M.'s boat and tells her then.

Mid-October/early November

The shipment of van Goghs from Europe arrives; the loans from collectors in America are already in the museum. The canvases are on the floor of the galleries, face up. A. is alone, walking here and there, thinking about the hanging. A young man walks in hesitantly. It is Beaumont Newhall, the new librarian, reporting for work. (Iris Barry is now film librarian.) It is his first day on the job. Written on his face is the question, "What shall I do?" A. replies, "Take off your coat, man, and help me hang this show!"

November 4-January 5, 1936

"Vincent van Gogh" exhibition. Lines to Fifth Avenue. Mrs. Roosevelt visits twice. No one, A. least of all, expected such crowds (and they won't be seen again until the explosion of blockbuster shows in the Sixties).

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November 14

Ernestine Fantl is named curator of architecture and industrial art. Dorothy Miller becomes assistant curator of painting and sculpture.

1936

January

Thomas Mabry becomes executive director of the museum.

March 2-April 19

"Cubism and Abstract Art." A. has written the text of the catalogue in six weeks and laid out the illustrations on the floor of the apartment at 2 Beekman Place. The design and production, with plates interpolated in the text, is the feat of Frances Collins, newly appointed manager of publications. The character of the exhibition is one of synthesis: the movements and national tendencies brought together in the text and on the walls of the museum have been the subject of many separate studies, as the ample bibliography attests, but this landscape view embracing all the possibilities of the many forms of abstract art stretches, historically, from the late nineteenth century to the present and geographically from Russia through Holland, England, Germany, France, and Italy. This deliberate double range of extended time and geographical spread characterizes this exhibition and future ones A. has in mind.* The intellectual ideal is one of all-embracing scope, of universality within the limits of each subject. For the first time the general term "Cubism" is divided for the American public into "analytical" and "synthetic" with illuminating results; important and short-lived movements are given equal validity and the works of individual artists—some nearly unknown—gain new resonances from unexpected juxtapositions.

Late April

M. to Italy because her mother is in a convalescent home near Parma.

May 12

A. sails on the SS *Normandie,* which makes the crossing in five days.

May 18-August 1

Paris. A. and M. begin work on the exhibition "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," scheduled to open December 7. It is a complicated "campaign" (A.'s word) that extends over a period of more than two months.** The atmosphere in the city is lighter, more exhilarating. One senses the liberal presence of Léon Blum. The Front Populaire creates an atmosphere of youth, liberty, and cheerfulness. The *midinettes* screaming on the avenue Matignon on strike from the great fashion houses are laughing and having fun. A. and M. go to a meeting at the Maison de la Culture where Blum is wildly applauded.

The first visit is to André Breton, who lives a step from the Place Blanche. He has a leonine head and an impressive profile. He has made the color green his signature. His tweed suit is the color of oak leaves, his wife Jacqueline has emerald polish on the nails of her hands and toes. He is throughout unsmiling, in fact severe: to give what he calls his *adhésion* he wants the show to be exclusively Dada and Surrealist and insists on dictatorial powers. Surprisingly, in the embrasure of a window his white plaster mask and

* A. calls this exhibition "an exercise in recent art history." It is the first in a series "intended to illustrate some of the principal movements of modern art in a comprehensive, objective, and historical manner." The second will be "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism" (1936-37); the third, "Masters of Popular Painting" (1938); the fourth, "American Realists and Magic-Realists" (1943); and the fifth, "Romantic Painting in America" (1943).

** Other travels and events within this period are grouped after a summary of the Surrealist situation.

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that of Paul Eluard face each other, although their long friendship is at an end. (In 1930, at the auction house of the Hôtel Drouot, A. and M. had witnessed with sad sympathy the dispersal of the collection of primitive art that these two great friends had formed together.) It is evident that the help of Paul Eluard, the other high priest of Surrealism, is essential to enlist the co-operation of the artists. He and his ethereal wife, Nusch, together with Yvonne and Christian Zervos, have formed a "court" around Picasso and his new mistress, Dora Maar; much of the fate of the show hangs in the balance.*

Fortunately there is an affinity between A. and Eluard despite the language barrier and the fact that Eluard is, in principle, opposed to the inclusion of all those who are not "card-carrying" Surrealists. The case of Picasso is tricky: the Surrealists claim him as one of their own not only for his recognizably Surrealist work (beginning with *La Danse* of 1927), but also for his early Cubist pictures, which they consider haunting. Picasso complacently accepts this endorsement but ably evades overt participation. If he could be induced to lend his own recent etching, the *Minotauromachy* (of which at the moment there are no available impressions), and certain bronze statuettes of elongated female nudes in his private possession, this would signal his willingness to be identified with the Surrealists in the New York show. Picasso dislikes decisions and is increasingly distracted by the news from Spain and the arrival of young relatives seeking refuge from the Civil War. One day in July, Picasso appears beaming in the offices of *Cahiers d'Art*. He has just pulled some new sheets of the *Minotauromachy*. After some conversation he says to A., "Voilà, je vous la donne." A. is very pleased and answers, "Merci, pour le musée." At which Picasso replies, "Ah, si, c'est pour le musée. Je ne la vous donne pas." A. accepts with a grin. This proof of Picasso's benevolence increases A.'s hopes for the statuettes.

There are lengthy visits to studios: to Arp, to Ernst,** to Miró, who is still at work on the *Self-Portrait* (now at the Museum of Modern Art), to Léonor Fini,† to the ascetic Dutch recluse Richard Oelze. Each visit is in itself satisfactory because the artists see that A. looks at their work with rare absorption and asks questions that are proof of his close focus. However, it is unwise to take for granted that they'll be willing to risk rejection from the Surrealist circle (A. calls it a "chapel"). In these predicaments there are two advisors who speak English: Man Ray, who, with the earnestness of a rabbi, reaffirms the Surrealist point of view (his attitude seems to be, "You can take your chances but I can't foretell the outcome"), and Marcel Duchamp, who knows the currents and countercurrents of the art world, is interested in the problem as if it were chess, but

* In France, Eluard is considered to be at this time the greatest French poet since Baudelaire. Zervos is editor of *Cahiers d'Art* and indefatigable publisher of Picasso's work. All of Picasso's devotees keep track of the artist's every move: Where did he eat lunch? Has he been to the bank? Or to his lawyer? When is he going to Boisgeloup? One or the other turns up at the Flore in case he decides to make a stop there. They feed him the news of Spain, where the Civil War breaks out on July 18.

** Ernst lives with Eleanora Carrington, a ravishing English girl from an aristocratic family. He is painting *The Entire City*.

† As soon as A. and M. arrive, Fini wants to show a large portfolio of drawings. Both she and A. sit down on the floor cross-legged and start paging through her work, their backs leaning against a massive bed canopied in red velvet. From its depths comes a slight noise: they look up. It is a kitten playing with Léonor's beads. She laughs and pulls him down to the floor. He starts playing with her drawings, and she exclaims, "Not even the Mona Lisa can hold her own against a kitten." At the moment she is having a love affair with Max Ernst and makes no secret of it. She remarks that he has never set foot in the Louvre. Highly educated, she finds this shocking, not so much as a painter but as an intellectual, although of course she understands his position as a Dadaist and Surrealist and his indifference to the art of museums.

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is dispassionate about the outcome.* A. thinks in chess terms, too, so their reasoning runs parallel. As the campaign gains momentum, Breton speaks of A. as "ce con sinistre."

Involved also in this "campaign" is the beautiful and talented young art historian Janice Loeb, a friend of M.'s. Gradually she realizes that, because of the comings and goings of the Surrealist problem, A. will not have the time or the concentration to hunt for the fantastic or enigmatic prints that are needed to fill out the "antecedents" of the show. She spends hours hunting in bookshops, at antiquaries, and along the quais, and at the end of each day shows A. her discoveries. Her enthusiastic, intellectual participation makes her youthful presence exhilarating at the conclusion of a day beset with uncertainties.**

A. decides to ask the poet and critic Georges Hugnet to write the introduction to the Dada and Surrealist sections of the catalogue. Hugnet sides with Breton and steadfastly opposes A.'s more inclusive scheme. There ensues a bilingual argument that begins in the afternoon and resumes in a dingy café in the evening. The outcome is uncertain, the interpreter exhausted. Eventually Hugnet swallows his objections and produces two acceptable texts.

A last delightful visit is with Valentine Hugo, who is doing the plates for Paul Eluard's *Les Hommes et les animaux.* She gives A. the etching for the cat, a favorite of the Surrealists because of its mysterious purr unhalted by breathing, as suggested by the word *ronron.* On either side of the cat's head appear identical outlines of Eluard's unmistakable lips and chin.

In the course of the summer other problems claim A.'s attention; two of them are concerned with architecture. The museum from its beginning has taken an evangelical stand in favor of modern architecture, and now the time has come to select an architect for the building that will replace the brownstone at 11 West Fifty-third Street. Discussions were still in a preliminary stage when A. left New York on May 12.

When Mrs. Rockefeller and her son David (aged twenty) arrive at the Crillon, A. has a long conversation with her in which he strongly advocates choosing an architect of world renown: first, because the museum has a message to convey and must set an example; and second, because a mall is planned to lead north from the new buildings at Rockefeller Center all the way to Fifty-third Street, so that the façade of the Museum of Modern Art would be a climax to the perspective. Whom to choose? The number of great architects is limited. The best would be to have a world-famous American, but Frank Lloyd Wright is too much of a prima donna, too extravagant and hard to work with; the same applies to the disruptive Le Corbusier, whose show the previous year is remembered with shudders in the architecture department. Yet to be considered are J. J. P. Oud, Walter Gropius, and Mies van der Rohe. In the course of the long discussion David discreetly seems to agree with A., but Mrs. Rockefeller feels that the architect should be American, and in any case she is unwilling to tip the balance without the

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* Duchamp was most helpful because he spoke English, knew all the protagonists, and was quite detached. After the war he came to New York and lived on Fourteenth Street most ascetically. The sculptress Maria Martins, wife of the Brazilian ambassador to the United States, watched over him discreetly. Sporadically he would telephone A. to come see him and look at what he was working on. He requested A.'s presence at the ceremony when he became a citizen. After the death of his great patron, Katherine Dreier, as executor of her estate he proved that he had the interest of the museum at heart.

** Many of the prints included in the catalogue are her finds. Years later she will produce the award-winning documentary film *The Quiet One,* about a young, withdrawn black boy. The credits of this extraordinary film read: scenario by Janice Loeb, Helen Levitt, Sidney Meyers; directed by Sidney Meyers; commentary and dialogue written by James Agee and narrated by Gary Merrill; music by Ulysses Kay; photography by Helen Levitt, Janice Loeb, and Richard Bagley.

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endorsement of the other trustees. However, she has not vetoed all consideration of the foreign architects.

At this interview A. has another plea to advance: a splendid Picasso has become available, the *Three Musicians* (1921), for $10,000.* What does Mrs. Rockefeller think? It is a unique occasion. She is neither encouraging nor discouraging. A. tries to enlist the help of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr., who, in the midst of the complicated negotiations, flies back to the United States by zeppelin.

June 16

A. and M. to Brussels. Call on the collector René Gaffé, who is willing to sell the Roger de la Fresnaye *Conquête de l'air* (1913) for $6,000. Needless to say, the museum cannot afford it.**

The Hague. Formal call on Madame Kröller-Müller and Mr. van Deventer to ask for extension of the van Gogh loans requested by several American museums. M. meets for the first time V. W. van Gogh, who later comes often to the United States to exhibit his own collection of his uncle's paintings.

June 17

Rotterdam. A. calls on J. J. P. Oud. Joseph Hudnut, dean of the faculty of architecture at Harvard, has asked A. in the deepest confidence to try to ascertain whether Oud, Gropius, or Mies van der Rohe would be interested in accepting the chair of professor of design at Harvard, but Oud does not want to leave Holland. He politely turns down both the museum building and the Harvard chair.

June 20

Berlin. A. calls on Mies van der Rohe. He seems interested in the museum building.

June 25-29

London. A. meets with Gropius, and, as a result, Gropius will become senior professor of architecture at Harvard in 1937.

The large "International Surrealist Exhibition" at the New Burlington Galleries (June 11-July 4) includes sixty artists from fourteen nations; outstanding among the British is Roland Penrose, who considers himself a Surrealist at this time and has eight paintings in the show. The virtuous older visitors are earnest and unshockable; frequently heard is the surprising remark, "It is so pure!"

Russell Hitchcock passes through London. Ernestine Fantl, researching an exhibition of modern English architecture, is surrounded by young architects, devotees of Berthold Lubetkin, whose Penguin Pool in the Regent's Park Zoo is an inexhaustible source of delight as the birds waddle on elliptical walks or plunge into their transparent swimming pool.† Ernestine Fantl introduces A. and Russell Hitchcock to many young people interested in modern architecture. Roland Penrose and Peter Gregory discuss with A. their project of an Institute for Contemporary Art.

June 29

A. and M. back in Paris to continue work on

* This, the smaller of the two versions of the same subject, is now at the Philadelphia Museum of Art as part of the A. E. Gallatin Collection. Gallatin was an independent, early collector of modern art. In 1927, when his collection became too large for his home, he lent it to New York University, where it was exhibited as the Museum of Living Art. A. tried to interest him in the Museum of Modern Art; Gallatin was gracious but aloof. He eventually accepted the offer of Fiske Kimball, the director of the Philadelphia Museum, where ample space for display was available, and the collection arrived there in 1943.

** In 1947 it will be purchased by the museum, at the urging of James Johnson Sweeney, for a great deal more.

† A. remarks in a letter that Lubetkin is probably the most brilliant exponent of modern architecture in England.

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the Surrealist show. With various officials, negotiations continue for a projected show of American art at the Jeu de Paume in 1938. In New York on June 18 the building committee of the museum, of which Nelson Rockefeller is chairman, selects the trustee Philip Goodwin as architect of the new museum building;* Edward Durell Stone to be his assistant. A. objects.

July 18

A. and M. call on Tristan Tzara. During the short, delightful visit A. notices an orange folder on the table and asks Tzara about it. He replies that he draws doodles on it as a pastime. To M.'s surprise, A. asks him for it. Tzara dates and dedicates it. A. notices the recurrence and prevalence of African motifs from identifiable tribes.**

Early August

A. and M. to Basel to borrow the Heinrich Füssli *Nightmare*† from Professor Paul Ganz for "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism."

From Basel to Badenweiler, a spa in the Black Forest. A. plans the requests for loans to this complicated exhibition.

A. to Frankfurt to see exhibition of prehistoric art, a selection of which is scheduled to come to the museum. Meets Leo Frobenius, the greatest scholar in this field. M. to Italy to see her mother.

August 12

A. sails back to New York, arrives August 17.

August 27

A. to Greensboro.

Late August/early September

M. returns to Paris, where Janice Loeb, through the Zervoses, keeps an eye on the last reluctant artists. In the offices of *Cahiers d'Art* on the rue du Dragon there is a carefully planned interview with Picasso, who has been named director of the Prado by the Spanish Loyalists. He arrives resplendent in bright tie, showy socks, and says to M., "Moi aussi maintenant, je suis directeur de musée!" M. eyes him and replies, "Que vous êtes beau!" There follows a great deal of animated gossip and joking and at last M. inquires, "Will you lend?" He beams and shouts, "Et bien, je dis oui!" Zervos, turning to M., exclaims, "You see, you see how good he is!" (as if he were a child). Picasso continues: "Go to Kahnweiler's tomorrow, I'll call you there at 11:00 and we'll make arrangements." The next day, M. gets to the gallery on the rue d'Astorg well ahead of time; she tells Kahnweiler that she must wait for a call from Picasso. She waits until 1:30. The phone never rings. Kahnweiler is not surprised.

December 7-January 17, 1937

"Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism." Opposite the small entrance door of the old building at 11 West Fifty-third Street hangs the Man Ray horizontal picture *À l'heure de l'observatoire—les amoureux.* A vast pink mouth, like a cloud at sunset, floating above a subdued, bluish landscape. Here for generations to see are the lips of Lee Miller, Man Ray's mistress.‡ The trustees are shocked

* Philip Goodwin waives his fee as architect.

** "Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism," no. 513. In 1962 A. was invited to Salisbury, Rhodesia, for a great meeting on the influence of African art. Roland and Lee Penrose were there, and also John Russell. The speakers were scholarly and enthusiastic, from every branch of the arts, so that it became evident that the influence had been pervasive and vast. The accumulation was such that it worked out that even the *pavane* came in for its share of consideration, at which A. exclaimed with a laugh, "Gentlemen, we mustn't forget Greece."

† Ever since 1932, A. had hoped to have an exhibition of Heinrich Füssli (1741-1825), long before the show held at the Zurich Kunsthaus in 1969.

‡ Years later she will become the wife of Roland Penrose. The Man Ray picture sold at auction at Sotheby's in 1979 for $750,000.

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and feel that the picture should be hung less prominently.

1937

January 30-February 2

The van Gogh pictures are back for a final showing. This is the first time the museum charges admission.

March 15

A. and M. drive south with John McAndrew, assistant professor of architectural history at Vassar College, to see plantation mansions and look at Williamsburg, of which the Rockefeller family is very proud. A. leaves for a quick trip to Washington. On his way back he happens to step into a Jim Crow coach and settles down there. The conductor who comes to check his ticket insists that he move into another coach; A. refuses.

March 17-April 18

"Photography: 1839-1937." The museum's first comprehensive photography exhibition, selected and installed by Beaumont Newhall.

April 26

German planes bomb Guernica.

April 28-May 30

"Prehistoric Rock Pictures in Europe and Africa. From Material in the Archives of the Research Institute for the Morphology of Civilization, Frankfurt-on-Main." Catalogue by Professor Leo Frobenius and Douglas C. Fox. Preface and acknowledgment by A.

June

Museum moves to the Time & Life Building at 14 West Forty-ninth Street as construction of the new building at 11 West Fifty-third Street begins.

Plan for an American exhibition in Paris is accepted by the French.

July 25

In a description of the architecture and exhibitions at the Paris Exposition *The New York Times* reports that "there will be a great Picasso mural in the pavilion of the Spanish Republic." In the courtyard of the Spanish building there will also be a mercury fountain, by the American Alexander Calder.

September 1

John McAndrew becomes curator of the Department of Architecture. To take this appointment he resigns his position at Vassar. He works with A. on the plans for the new museum building that Philip Goodwin is designing.

September 23

Alexander Dorner, former director of the Hanover Landesmuseum, and Mrs. Dorner are now in New York. M. gives Dorner the last of several English lessons. In January he will be appointed director of the Museum of the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence.

October 2

A. writes a thumbnail sketch of Mies van der Rohe and his position in architecture for Mrs. Stanley Resor, a trustee of the museum, who has commissioned Mies to build her ranch house in Jackson Hole, Wyoming. He arrived in late August to inspect the Wyoming site and is working in New York on designs of the house. (In March he will leave for Germany but will return, permanently, in November to take up his teaching duties at the Armour Institute of Technology in Chicago.)

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November 7

Italy joins the Axis. Mussolini begins to single out Jewish people. As a result brilliant Italian intellectuals seek refuge in the U.S.

November 8-December 13

"Paintings for Paris." Exhibition of paintings intended to be part of the display of three centuries of American art scheduled to open in Paris in the spring.

December 6

Mrs. Simon Guggenheim, on her own initiative, totally unsolicited, offers to buy a picture for the museum, provided it is a masterpiece. Picasso's *Girl before a Mirror* (purchased from the Valentine Dudensing Gallery) is the first pearl in the brilliant necklace of gifts that bear her name.

1938

March 11-13

Anschluss. German troops cross the Austrian border. Hitler enters Vienna, decrees Austria a territory of the German Reich.

March 15-April 18

"Luis Quintanilla: An Exhibition of Drawings of the Civil War in Spain." This artist was brought to A.'s attention by Ernest Hemingway.*

April 8

The Front Populaire ends. Daladier forms a new cabinet.

April 27-July 24

"Masters of Popular Painting: Modern Primitives of Europe & America."

* Letter, Hemingway to Barr, September 1, 1934.

Late April-early May

A. and M. to Paris to work on the exhibition of three centuries of American art. This daring project of A. Conger Goodyear and Eustache de Lorey (Mrs. Rockefeller's French friend) has been the subject of lengthy negotiations.** At last it has come to fruition.

The bilingual catalogue has been prepared in New York during the past year to allow time for translation. Now it is ready because printing is fast in France. There are entries on architecture, photography, and film by the heads of these departments. A. has managed in thirty-three pages to cover American painting and sculpture from the seventeenth century to the present. A chart —in French—anchored to United States history tabulates the developments of technology, literature, architecture, painting and sculpture, photography, and film. One fears that a great deal of this solid scholarship may be wasted because who, except perhaps the critics, will trouble to read the catalogue?

The galleries of the Musée du Jeu de Paume are empty and unkempt, the listless guards stand around or perch on the windowsills. Mlle. Rose Valland is its sole curator.† She

** Already in 1932 Mr. Goodyear was so excited by the idea of sending an American show to France that he asked A. to go to Paris to work out the details. The latter, who had just arrived in Rome for the start of his one-year leave of absence, was unwilling to obey and threatened to resign.

† During the German occupation she remained faithfully attached to her museum. In the last days before the liberation of Paris in August, 1944, with the help of her superior, Jacques Jaujard, she prevented the departure of the train headed for Germany with 148 crates of plundered works of art; see Michael Gibson, "How a Timid Curator with a Deadpan Expression Outwitted the Nazis," *Art News* (June, 1981), pp. 105-11; and Rose Valland, *Le Front de l'art* (Paris: Plon, 1961). *The Train,* an exciting film with Burt Lancaster, was based on this last-minute episode. In retrospect it is evident that Rose Valland and Jacques Jaujard at the time of the Jeu de Paume exhibition were already preoccupied with making plans for safeguarding works of art in case of war.

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introduces A. and M. to the director, M. André Dezarrois. Eventually he takes notice of the rest of the team: John (Dick) Abbott and his wife, Iris Barry, in charge of film; John McAndrew, in charge of architecture; and Allen Porter, who will run the projector five times a day (a French operator would be subject to union rules). M. Dezarrois puts the whole responsibility for organization in the hands of this unassuming, soft-spoken curator who is not fluent in English. No other loan exhibition in this museum, whose task it is to exhibit the art of foreign countries, can have entailed as many problems as this one, with its continuous showing of movies and elaborate architectural installations. Rose Valland takes the extravagant American demands in stride and satisfies every one of them in her ingenious way. She never exclaims, "You Americans are so spoiled with your museum!" She simply envies the abundance of good stationery, carbons, paper clips, scotch tape, and pencils that the *équipe Américaine* had the prudence to bring across the ocean.

The painting and sculpture boxes land in the large gallery of the second floor that is strewn with picture-hanging rods some fifteen feet long (*tringles*). As the paintings come out of the crates and the men decide on their own to put them face out against the walls, they trample, lift, and shove aside these supple steel *tringles* that could slash the canvases like whips. A. remonstrates, M. translates, they shrug. Also, they want to throw out all the packing material because there's no room to store it. Rose Valland improvises a solution. Often Mr. Goodyear floats in with his two Sealyhams on a leash, sometimes with Mrs. Cornelius Bliss, sometimes with the charming and youthful Mrs. Bliss (Eliza) Parkinson and Lily Cushing, who have rented an apartment and attend Mr. Goodyear. This is truly a moment of glory for him, the climax to his nine-year directorship of the museum.* As the hanging begins to take shape, and Mr. Goodyear walks through ever more hopeful, Mlle. Valland and M. Dezarrois eye the paintings and sculptures with dismissive glances. They are tactfully silent; "ce ne présage rien de bon." Their attitude is prophetic of the Paris reaction: the only picture that meets with favor is the Grant Wood *Daughters of Revolution* because the middle-aged schoolteachers are so recognizable as tourist types.

May 24-July 31

"Trois siècles d'art aux Etats-Unis," Musée du Jeu de Paume. At the public *vernissage,* invited visitors turn up in comforting numbers. (Rose Valland remarks, "It's always that way because they come in free.") Sure enough, in later weeks the attendance is meager and the chief attractions are the movies and the architecture galleries. Some days after the *vernissage,* the American team is informed that M. Jean Zay, minister of national education and of fine arts, will come on May 27 at 11:00 A.M. to open the show officially. It is a ceremony and the gentlemen are supposed to appear *en jaquette*; this means a short black morning coat and striped trousers. In despair, A., Dick Abbott, John McAndrew, and Allen Porter don their "black tie" uniforms, sheepishly concealing their collars at that early hour with a scarf. But Mr. Goodyear, undaunted and sniffing, turns up some twenty minutes late in tweeds with his two dogs.

Two ceremonial meals take place. One is at the home of Dezarrois, who lives on the rue de Lisbonne. It is tremendously formal; he says *vous* to his wife. Important guests are placed at the center of the long table and the small fry at the ends (*bouts de table*), rather disconcerting for Americans. No sense of cordiality or warmth and certainly no sense of humor are displayed as an admirable dinner with many truffles is consumed. Symmetrically Mr. Goodyear offers a splendid lunch in the Salle des Aigles of the Crillon, where M. is too honorably seated beside Jacques Jaujard, Sous-directeur des Musées Nationaux et de l'Ecole du Louvre. At the correct moment, which Jaujard senses as if

* See A. Conger Goodyear, *The Museum of Modern Art: The First Ten Years* (1943), pp. 73-82.

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he were an actor, he rises and delivers a gracious, classically organized, and well-rounded speech without a moment's hesitation or fault. When complimented, he answers, "Madame, on est habitué." At another point during this lunch he giggles and in whispers to M. remarks that the Museum of Modern Art shortchanged the Louvre in the financial arrangements connected with Whistler's *Mother*.

Paul Eluard, who had been such a friend in 1936, turns up while the show is at the Jeu de Paume. He hardly walks through it; he turns to M. and says "Et M. Barr, il réfléchit toujours?"

For this tremendous effort of six years' standing, Mr. Goodyear should have been awarded the Légion d'Honneur.*

June

Zurich. Franz Meyer, a firm friend of the museum, drives A. and M. to Küssnacht to see Mrs. Siegwart Rückstuhl. She owns the Rousseau *Bohémienne endormie*. It had been one of the glories of the John Quinn Collection but had come upon evil days because its authenticity had been questioned.** This visit to a rather confused middle-aged widow makes an indelible impression on A.† He will borrow the picture for the exhibition "Art in Our Time" (1939).

On the way to Prague, A. and M. stop in Stuttgart. A. gives Frau Haag the fee he received from the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* for his article based on the letters from Cézanne to Heinrich Morstatt. He sees again the little Cézanne landscape in her drawing room and will shortly arrange for its authentication and sale through Lionello Venturi. A. and M. call on Dr. Garthe, who is tragically preoccupied because his wife is part Jewish.

By train nonstop to Prague, a surprisingly prosperous city, still somewhat Austro-Hungarian. In preparation for the 1939 Picasso show A. wants to see the renowned pictures of Wincenc Kramar. Stanton (Tod) Catlin, then very young, knows Czech, as he has been studying in Prague for two years.‡ He is immensely helpful because the German language is no longer useful. If one speaks German even poorly, one counts as German and arouses ill-concealed hostility. Catlin tries vainly to track down Mr. Kramar; he introduces A. to artists and actors who rally to the name of the Museum of Modern Art.

A. goes briefly to Berlin to see Mies van der Rohe. He meets Philip Johnson unexpectedly on the street. A. buys a Schwitters there. Thence to Paris, New York, and Greensboro.

M. to Venice to meet Agnes Mongan, thereafter Rome, Paris, New York, and Greensboro.

September 21

Hurricane hits the eastern seaboard. By morning trees have fallen across roads and train tracks, making travel impossible. Power lines are down. The paralysis lasts at least three weeks: no electricity, no papers, no mail. A. and M. have to depend on automobile radios for news.

Monroe Wheeler is put in charge of museum membership, a good choice because he is very persuasive. He puts on an exhibition of the prints of Georges Rouault (September 20-November 18).

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* Only those who went through the humiliation of this enforced exhibition of American painting can imagine A.'s joy when, some twenty years later, the New York School began to gain recognition in Europe.

** "During the early and mid-1930s a cloud continued to hang over the picture, although it was shown once or twice in Swiss museums"; letter of Barr to Paul J. Sachs, July 5, 1955.

† ". . . in the light of a single rather weak electric light bulb hanging from the center of the ceiling, we saw the picture . . . ."; ibid.

‡ Catlin later becomes director of the Joe and Emily Lowe Art Center, Syracuse University, until 1977, and Emeritus Professor of Museum Studies at Syracuse.

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Cy Twombly: *Paintings on Paper, 1955-1985*

Robert Rauschenberg: *The White and the Black Paintings, 1949-1952*

Andy Warhol: *The Oxidation Paintings, 1978*

Susan Rothenberg: *The Horse Paintings, 1974-1980*

Frank Stella: *The Pre-Black Paintings, 1958*

GALLERY

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September 29-30

Sudetenland. A. extremely involved and constantly rages that statesmen and diplomats should learn to play chess. Hitler, Mussolini, Chamberlain, and Daladier decide that the Sudeten should join Germany. They sign the Munich Pact, permitting immediate occupation of the Sudetenland by Germany. Chamberlain, with his umbrella, returns to London, and announces "peace for our time."

September 28-October 28

"Useful Household Objects under Five Dollars." First in a series of exhibitions intended to promote good industrial design. John McAndrew selects the objects for this show.

December 7-January 30, 1939

"Bauhaus: 1919-1928." This is the last exhibition in the Time & Life Building before the move into the new building at 11 West Fifty-third Street. Herbert Bayer comes to the United States to install the exhibition; John McAndrew helps him.

1939

March 15-16

German army invades Czechoslovakia; Hitler in Prague declares Bohemia-Moravia a German protectorate.

April 30

World's Fair opens at Flushing Meadow Park, Queens. Includes exhibition "American Art Today," directed by Holger Cahill. He is assisted by Elizabeth Litchfield.* Kenneth Clark, director of the National Gallery in London, and his wife, Jane, spirited and elegant, dressed by Schiaparelli, take A. and M. to lunch in the French pavilion at the Fair. A. asks Clark in what way he brings around his trustees to consider favorably a picture he wants to buy for his museum. Clark answers that he does his best to interest them and, if he fails, says, "All right, I'll buy the picture myself."**

May 3

A. writes Professor Sachs suggesting two ideas for Sachs's talk at the inauguration dinner of the new building: 1. Do not lower the standards in order to reach a wider public; 2. The Museum should be ready to take risks and not become timidly conservative.

May 8-10

Ceremonies celebrating the opening of the new building designed by Philip Goodwin and Edward Durell Stone. Throughout the construction of the building A. and John McAndrew work closely and continuously on details, sometimes having to do with the use of the building and sometimes with its exterior appearance. McAndrew is responsible for the design of the garden, the canopy and lobby, and the round holes in the cantilevered canopy of the penthouse terrace of the Fifty-third Street side. Goodwin is willing to accept suggestions with equanimity while preserving great professional dignity.

May 8

Trustees banquet inaugurates the opening of the new building. The only speakers are

---

* As a consequence she leaves her position as secretary to Grover Whalen, city commissioner of the Fair, and joins the staff of the museum as A.'s assistant. In 1942 she married an architect, John Lambie, and moved to Sarasota, where she worked for A. Everett Austin at the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art. A.'s next assistant, Leslie Schwitzer (Mrs. Leslie Ahlander), was to succeed Mrs. Lambie as invaluable aide to Mr. Austin. She is now consultant on art for Dade County, Florida.

** Clark was a man of wealth whose family fortune came from Clark thread. The Czar had commissioned the Clark factory to make the thread for the uniforms of the Russian army.

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Paul J. Sachs and A. Conger Goodyear, who (perhaps reluctantly) steps down from the presidency of the museum.

Goodyear is to be succeeded by Nelson A. Rockefeller, who hands him, as a token of his esteem, a painting by William Harnett called *Playbill and Dollar Bill.** A. is nervous about Goodyear's reactions: perhaps he would like to have been begged to stay on? As a man of considerable museum experience, he surely must not like passing on the torch to a young man of thirty. But the worst of it is the gift. How appropriate is it to pay off such a distinguished collector with a trompe l'oeil dollar bill? The expression "dollar-a-year man" is current, but still, the choice of this gift as compensation for ten years of intense work and dedication is not wise, especially in view of Goodyear's touchiness.

May 10

Elegant reception for invited guests. Mrs. Rockefeller looks grand in a dark red chiffon dress by Lanvin. The candlesticks on the tables are silver. They have been made to order by Alexander Calder.

The fashionable crowds stand in respectful silence as they listen to a specially arranged radio program that features eminent speakers and culminates in a fifteen-minute speech by President Roosevelt. In none of the speeches is there any mention of Goodyear. A. sees that he feels doubly slighted.**

May 10-September 30

"Art in Our Time. An Exhibition to Celebrate the Tenth Anniversary of the Museum of Modern Art and the Opening of Its New Building, Held at the Time of the New York World's Fair." Directed especially to visitors to the Fair, the extensive exhibition presents modern developments in all the departments: Painting, Sculpture, Graphic Art; Photography; Architecture and Industrial Art; Film.

May 19

A. in a farewell letter to Goodyear as president of the museum asks for his advice on matters of policy and, especially, the subject of the permanent collection.

Late spring

Iris Barry and her husband, John Abbott, invite A. and M. to have tea in her "yard" with Ezra Pound. He lives in Rapallo and will shortly begin his philo-fascist broadcasts. (Later this same year, in Paris, at a film showing of the Cinémathèque founded by Henri Langlois, she introduces A. to James Joyce, who is visibly troubled by his eyes.)

Early summer

To Paris to assemble the Picasso show, scheduled to open November 15. How many years A. has hoped and worked and schemed for this! One or two days after his arrival, A. receives a cable from Beaumont Newhall and key members of the staff.† It informs him of the dismissal of Frances Collins, head of publications, and Tom Mabry, secretary of the museum. A. and M. are stunned.

In early spring Nelson Rockefeller, in preparation for his appointment as the new president, had called in some "efficiency experts" to analyze the workings of the

* For details of the opening ceremonies, see Russell Lynes, *Good Old Modern: An Intimate Portrait of the Museum of Modern Art* (Atheneum, 1973), pp. 199-209.

** Over the years A. will call on Goodyear and talk about the past and the present of the museum, but in truth Goodyear is no longer interested. In the end he will bequeath the greater part of his collection, including the great Gauguin *Spirit of the Dead Watching* and Balla's *Dog on Leash*, to the Albright-Knox Art Gallery in Buffalo.

† The transatlantic telephone was never used by A. and the museum staff before the Second World War.

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museum. They could not make out what its purpose was, nor how it went about its business. They were bad news, but A. had not foreseen the consequences of their reports. Now, Nelson Rockefeller has bypassed A.'s authority as director of the museum and has played havoc with its central nervous system.* Frances Collins, a friend of M.'s since Vassar, has been for years a devoted member of the staff and has produced single-handed some of the museum's most admired catalogues, such as *Cubism and Abstract Art* and *Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism.* Now she is thrown out on the streets with no warning, no separation pay. Tom Mabry is very suitable for his job. In the midst of the Depression he finds himself suddenly unemployed.

A. and M. do not quite understand the full implications of this news. The loss of two essential members of the staff leaves A. breathless, but there is so much work to do for the Picasso show, which is due to open soon. They spend much time in a room on the second floor of Paul Rosenberg's house above his gallery on the rue La Boétie. As there is no table large enough, A. disposes all the photographs on the floor. Rosenberg sends up tea every afternoon and drops in. A. asks, "Which of these two pictures do you prefer?" and Rosy responds, "You two are young—I can't go crawling around on my knees!"**

In planning the show A. has to make several choices from photographs because Picasso, Rosenberg, and many collectors have already stored their pictures in the Banque de France. War is a distinct possibility.

Nevertheless, Picasso now is more than willing to lend; in fact, instead of spoofing "those American professors," as he has in the past, he submits to a long interrogation together with Jaime Sabartés.† A. shows photographs or pictures in books. He is uncertain where to place them chronologically. He says in his awkward French, "Quelle date?" and Sabartés turns to Picasso and says, "Cuando lo has hecho?" Picasso shrugs, raises his eyebrows, and mostly comes up with a date by recalling where he was when he painted the picture.

A. and M. go to call on Gertrude Stein at 5 rue Christine to borrow her portrait by Picasso. She and Alice Toklas seem slightly stiff. Gertrude lays down the law saying that a *modern* museum is a contradiction in terms. A. argues back, Alice Toklas is silent. They invite A. and M. to come there the following Sunday morning to drive down to Senlis for lunch at the Louis Bromfields. Their beloved friend, the British painter Francis Rose, joins the party at the last moment. He has just come from England; they shout "dear boy," hug him, and kiss him on both cheeks. At lunch Gertrude sits beside Captain Molyneux (the fashion designer) and gossips with fine touches of Parisian mockery.

July 14

The city is jubilant. The Légion Etrangère has marched down the Champs-Élysées playing *noubas* on their Arab fifes. Brancusi has invited A. and M. to dinner together with Pierre and Patricia Matisse. He has roasted a gigot; he holds the bone with a *manche à mouton* and slices it masterfully. Between courses he drapes himself with a couple of dishtowels and performs the *danse du ventre.* Can this wonderful buffoon be the same man who only a few days before, on an earlier visit, had exclaimed, "Madame, don't

* Details of this episode are given in Russell Lynes, *Good Old Modern,* pp. 206-8, 213-14.

** During the Occupation, the Germans confiscated Rosenberg's collection, his house, and all his stock. He came to New York and opened his gallery on East Seventy-ninth Street. After the Second War, Picasso switched back to Daniel Henry Kahnweiler, who had been his dealer up to the First World War, and never again entrusted a picture to Rosenberg.

† Jaime Sabartés was a friend from Picasso's Barcelona days who came up to Paris, first frequented him as a friend, and finally became his paid secretary. He was very helpful to A. He gave no sign of enjoying his job.

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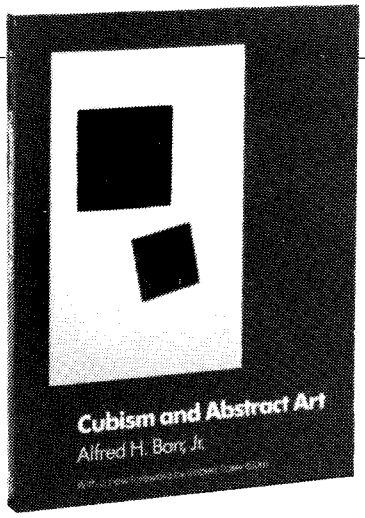

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touch! Don't touch! You can't imagine what I suffer polishing my marble or my brass for hours and hours." There was a plaintive note in his voice. But now there is dancing in the streets to the tune of "Bei mir bist du schön," and Brancusi dances first with Patricia, then with M., irresistibly carried away by the tune.

Late July/early August

From Paris A. and M. go to Geneva to see the exhibition of pictures from the Prado, which were sent up from the hills behind Barcelona, where they had been hidden during the Civil War. A. and M. separate in Geneva. M. goes down to Italy to see her mother, as it turns out, for the last time.

At Bernard Berenson's anti-fascist talk is more and more intense. War does not seem imminent.

August 23-24

German-Soviet non-aggression pact signed in Moscow. M. is back in Paris. To her amazement strangers in the restaurant talk excitedly from table to table. Boarding the *Normandie* seems normal, but at Southampton the anti-submarine nets are clearly visible. The captain, who receives constant radio reports, assures his friends, "Il n'y aura pas de guerre." As the boat slides by the Statue of Liberty a ship of the Hamburg-Amerika Line sails out to sea with the crew in uniform lined up on deck; no passengers.

Back in the United States, M. joins A. in Greensboro. It is there that A. learns that Monroe Wheeler, who had been in charge of membership, has been appointed director of publications.*

September 1

Germany invades Poland.

September 3

Great Britain and France declare war on Germany. World War II begins.

Early September

In Greensboro A. works feverishly. His *Picasso: Forty Years of His Art* must be ready for the Picasso opening on November 15, but just around the corner a show of great Italian masters becomes a possibility and later a certainty. Italy, under Mussolini, had lent invaluable Renaissance masterpieces to the San Francisco World's Fair. On their way back to Italy it would be desirable to show them in New York; however, the rental fee is $35,000. The Metropolitan by its charter cannot charge admission, so the Museum of Modern Art, being private, takes the show and charges admission. A. writes the preface and lively comments on each of the thirty works ranging from Fra Angelico through Caravaggio and Longhi; the endpapers consist of two charts, one for the Italian Renaissance and the other tracing the influence of Italy on the art of other European countries extending all the way to van Gogh and Seurat. He finds it a pleasant challenge because in his academic years he had given courses on Italian art and written about it.

Throughout the winter and spring M. had hunted for apartments because 2 Beekman Place is too small. In the fall they settle down at 49 East Ninety-sixth Street.

November 15-January 7, 1940

"Picasso: Forty Years of His Art." The exhibition includes *Guernica,* which was already on tour in the United States. All Picasso's loans remain in the museum for the duration of the war. (The museum stores the *Guernica* for many years because Picasso does not want to entrust it to the Prado Museum under the regime of Franco.)

* Wheeler had published small books of poetry while a young man in Chicago, and he continued as a publisher of limited editions during the ten-year period he lived in Paris.

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December

Museum buys Rousseau's *Sleeping Gypsy (La Bohémienne endormie)* with funds granted by Mrs. Simon Guggenheim.

Nelson Rockefeller assumes his duties as president of the museum. Mrs. Rockefeller consciously diminishes her involvement so as not to interfere with her son's newly acquired position. A. sees her less often.

1940

January 4

John Abbott, Monroe Wheeler, and A. appointed trustees.

January 27-April 17

"Exhibition of Italian Masters." The lighting of the sculpture is supervised by Professor Clarence Kennedy, whose lifelong specialty is the photographing of Renaissance sculpture. Scholars are admitted freely when the museum is closed to the public.

March

Department of Industrial Design is established; Eliot F. Noyes is to be director.

May 10-15

Germans invade Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Belgium; break through at Sedan.

May 15-September 3

"Twenty Centuries of Mexican Art." A large exhibition filling the entire museum ranges from the pre-Columbian period to contemporary painting, sculpture, and folk art, selected and brilliantly installed by John McAndrew, head of the Department of Architecture. Mexican officials, scholars, and collectors come north to attend the opening (travel for special occasions was still exceptional in 1940).

May 27

Belgium capitulates.

May 27-June 2

Evacuation of hundreds of thousands of British soldiers by sea at Dunkerque.

June 10

Italy declares war against France and Great Britain. President Roosevelt declares that the United States will "extend to the opponents of force the material resources of the nation."

M.'s mother lives in Rome and refuses to come to the United States.

June 13

William A. M. Burden is made chairman of the Advisory Committee of the museum.

June 15

Fall of Paris.

June 16

Marshal Henri Pétain, who urges armistice with Germany, becomes premier.

June 22

The Franco-German armistice. More than half of France will be occupied by the Germans.

June 24

Franco-Italian armistice signed.

June

Battle of Britain. Germany begins air attacks of British coastal defenses as a prelude to its planned invasion of England. In August the air attacks are shifted inland. By September there are nightly bombings of London. The Blitz continues through the winter, into the spring of 1941.

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July

Roosevelt accepts the nomination to run for a third term.

There is a rumor that Nelson Rockefeller has learned to speak Spanish. No one quite knows why.

A.'s office is swamped with requests for help from all manner of persons connected with the arts who have fled Paris. The museum is understaffed and there is no one who has the time to undertake this bureaucratic work. A. makes M. responsible for the whole operation but will sign official letters under the letterhead of the museum. From the start he decides that the museum will attempt to rescue only artists, not critics, scholars, or dealers, because the process is so difficult and expensive. For each individual an application for a visa must be filed with the State Department. The replies are slow, the excuse being that it must be proved incontrovertibly that the applicant is not, and never was, a Communist or leftist sympathizer. At the same time it is necessary to find a sponsor for each applicant, and this sponsor must sign an affidavit that the applicant will never, because of unemployment, become a burden to the state. Finally, from the same generous sponsor or from another source, four hundred dollars must be raised for the ocean passage. Invaluable in this work is the advice and co-operation of Ingrid Warburg of the Emergency Rescue Committee at 122 East Forty-second Street, but results actually begin to come through thanks to the work of Varian Fry. From August, 1940, when he establishes his base in a villa outside Marseilles, until August, 1941, when he is expelled by the Vichy government, he heads a small group of some ten people who manage to get out of France such endangered figures as Heinrich Mann, Marc Chagall, André Masson, Jacques Lipchitz, Franz Werfel. For his persistence and courage, France will award him the Legion of Honor.*

* His experiences in this undertaking are related in Varian Fry, *Surrender on Demand* (Random House, 1945).

At a fairly late stage of this rescue operation Eleanor Roosevelt prevails on the State Department to speed up the granting of visas. In New York, although work is begun on many individuals, good results are not often obtained; either the artist has moved away from the only address he has given, or he has been apprehended, or he has decided to resettle elsewhere but does not inform the museum and transactions drag on. The artists who actually do get here, some with and some without wives, are Tanguy, Masson, Mondrian, Lipchitz, Ernst, and Chagall (who earlier writes A. that he would consider coming to the United States but that he expects the museum to put at his disposal a farm with a long wall because he "is in the mood to paint cows"). Here they join up with other refugee artists such as Marcel Duchamp, Léger, Matta, Eleanora Carrington, and the poet and writer André Breton. Harry Holtzman, single-handed, with no help from the museum, rescues Piet Mondrian. It is surprising that in New York this ascetic artist falls in love with jazz. Peggy Guggenheim flies over with Max Ernst. All these valuable men create a great ferment among the New York artists. Alas, there are no cafés. Léger tries to make one out of the Jumble Shop on Eighth Street; he calls it "le Jeumble." It does not work.

Sponsors who generously furnish affidavits have no reason for regrets; none of the artists ask the museum for help and none become a burden to the state. Without exception, they are glad to be in the United States and are wildly excited by New York; some of them begin to speak English with a French accent, but others (Breton and Tanguy) firmly stick to French.

August 16

Nelson Rockefeller is named Co-ordinator of Commercial and Cultural Relations Between the American Republics (later changed to Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs); moves to Washington. He will initiate a tremendous program of "good will" that extends all through Latin America.

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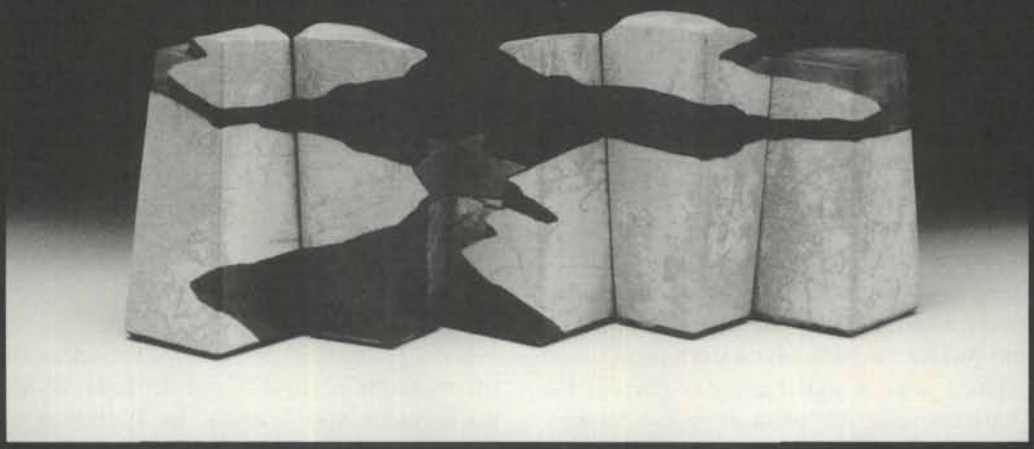
WAYNE HIGBY



"Cathedral Canyon," 1985
Ceramic: 13⅝" x 34" x 8½"

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On A.'s advice, M. takes intensive Spanish lessons.

In Vermont, the summer residents, including A., bombard the White House with postcards and telegrams urging Roosevelt to transfer fifty over-age destroyers to Great Britain. (He does so on September 3.)

Early fall

Monroe Wheeler, director of publications, is appointed director of exhibitions as well, supposedly to relieve A. of this responsibility, because Stephen Clark (chairman of the museum) and Mrs. Rockefeller feel A. neglects writing. They are intent on making him produce a book on modern art.

Until now design has been part of the Department of Architecture; is it now separated and becomes the Department of Industrial Design, headed by Eliot Noyes, who had studied at Harvard with Gropius and Marcel Breuer.

October

Isolationists set up the America First Committee.

November 25-December 2

A nationwide Art Week is established in response to President Roosevelt's appeal that the public support the American artist. The museum mounts a small exhibition, "Color Prints under $10.00," which remains on view until Christmas Eve.

December

The museum's *Bulletin* announces the establishment of a Department of Photography, of which Beaumont Newhall is named director.

Christmas

Justin and Kate Thannhauser leave Lisbon for New York, where he will re-establish his gallery. In 1937, they had fled from Germany and settled in Paris in a small private house at 35 rue de Miromesnil, where he had his gallery and she had her huge round tea table. Whenever A. and M. were in the vicinity they were always welcome for high tea. When the Thannhausers settle in New York they continue to be just as warmhearted. A beloved son is killed in the crash of an American bomber during the 1944 Allied invasion of France.

1941

January

Nelson Rockefeller resigns as president of the museum because of the demands of his government appointment in Washington. John Hay Whitney succeeds him.

January 8

A., in distress, writes Paul J. Sachs for advice because Nelson Rockefeller has informed him that John McAndrew, head of the Department of Architecture, must be dismissed within six months.*

Much involved in political causes, A. joins those urging prompt passage of the Lend-Lease Bill. (The Lend-Lease Act passed March 11, 1941.)

Spring

In a fervor of patriotism it is decided that the museum will put on a great exhibition. It is so important and secret that few know the title proposed for it. For ordinary reference by the staff it is called Exhibition X. Archibald MacLeish and Lewis Mumford are consulted. What to exhibit is a puzzle that leads to endless, time-consuming discussions. The show, it is finally decided, will be called "For Us the Living."

* This is the second time that Nelson Rockefeller has made a high-handed decision about the staff without consulting other trustees or the director.

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March 12

A report for the Advisory Committee on the collection of the museum is issued by William A. M. Burden and his committee. It has elaborate statistics and a program for collecting and "filling gaps" now that the museum has acquisition funds.*

June 30

"Paul Klee" exhibition. In the introduction, A. recalls his meeting with Klee in 1927 at the Bauhaus in Dessau. He notes, "Picasso's pictures often roar or stamp or pound; Klee's whisper a soliloquy—lyric, intimate, incalculably sensitive."

Early July

John McAndrew leaves the museum, A. having failed over the period of six months to convince Nelson Rockefeller to reverse his decision. So far as A. can gather, McAndrew has incurred Rockefeller's disapproval as an unreliable staff member. Monroe Wheeler seems to have reported to him that McAndrew was unreachable in Mexico City, where he was supposed to be while assembling the big exhibition of Mexican art.

Summer

A. arranges circulating exhibition of George Grosz paintings, drawings, and prints. (Shown at the museum October 8-November 2.)

July 23-September 29

Museum exhibits, among its new acquisitions, *The Tribulations of Saint Anthony* by James Ensor, one of the many pictures withdrawn from German museums by the Nazis.

August 9-14

Roosevelt and Churchill meet on a warship off the coast of Newfoundland. As a result the Atlantic Charter is declared.

Fall

Edgar Kaufmann is appointed head of the Department of Industrial Design. One of his special responsibilities will be the "Useful Objects" exhibitions, which have a great influence on industrial design.

The Frick Collection turns down the chance to acquire van Gogh's *Starry Night*. A. arranges to purchase the painting through Paul Rosenberg.

A. and M. are having a small party. Peggy Guggenheim walks in with Max Ernst. M. greets him enthusiastically and asks in French, "Where is Eleanora Carrington?" at which Peggy possessively grasps his arm, smiles, and exclaims, "He is mine now!" Shortly afterward they are married by a justice of the peace in Pennsylvania.

October 5

"Fun to be Free" rally at Madison Square Garden under the auspices of Fight for Freedom, Inc. Eminent speakers and popular entertainers endorse the view that the United States is already involved in the war and should begin to take an active part.

November

A. publishes an article in the first issue of the *College Art Journal* in which he recommends the study of modern art in colleges and graduate schools.**

* Over the years, until A.'s retirement in 1967, the trustees or special museum committees demanded reports. These compilations caused a halt in the ongoing work of the director as well as of the department heads. They became increasingly elaborate, so that the busy trustees could not be expected to peruse them. It then became imperative to produce summaries because, A. remarked, "You must remember, they can't read."

** Alfred H. Barr, Jr., "Modern Art Makes History, Too," *College Art Journal* (November 1941, pp. 3-6).

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December 7

Bombing of Pearl Harbor. The U.S. declaration of war the next day comes almost as a relief.

The scheme for a patriotic exhibition no longer seems essential. Hours and hours of debates and discussion go down the drain.

1942

January 1

Casablanca Conference. President Roosevelt and Prime Minister Winston Churchill pledge unconditional surrender of the Axis.

January 13

Twenty Latin American acquisitions announced, among them works by Maria Martins, Orozco, Rivera, Siqueiros, Cândido Portinari, Wifredo Lam. These paintings are acquired by means of the Inter-American Fund, established for the purchase of work by Latin American artists.

Winter

The museum is increasingly involved in wartime issues. Every effort must be made to kindle patriotism. Art historians draft recommendations for the Air Force and the Army so as to prevent the bombing of monuments, churches, museums, and works of art.

The first general catalogue of the collections is published, *Painting and Sculpture in the Museum of Modern Art,* edited and with an introduction by A.

The morale of the museum is gradually eroded by the practice of hiring and firing by the trustees without consultation with A. as director. Factionalism sets in. Iris Barry alludes to A. as the "éminence grise." She likes the expression so much that she uses it inadvertently even when speaking to M. Late after dinner one evening John Abbott swears at A. using the standard four-letter word. Iris giggles. A. ignores.

April 3

Edward M. M. Warburg has entered the Army "in the ranks." He senses that A. finds it hard to make decisions because he sees multiple aspects of each question. He asks A. to keep him informed because he wants to help.

A. is invited to give the Mary Flexner Lectures at Bryn Mawr; he asks Stephen Clark whether he should accept or not. Clark replies that he should do what he thinks best. As a result, A. refuses. The museum staff is dwindling due to the war, and he is excessively busy with less and less help.

May 21-October 24

"Road to Victory. A Procession of Photographs of the Nation at War." Directed by Lt. Comdr. Edward Steichen, U.S.N.R., with accompanying text and labels by Carl Sandburg.

John Hay Whitney, president of the museum, is commissioned in the Air Force. Soon after, Stephen Clark takes on the duties of the presidency while continuing in his position as chairman of the board.

June 24-August 24

"New Acquisitions: Free German Art." A small exhibition, containing newly acquired works by Beckmann, Barlach, Käthe Kollwitz, and Nolde. A. remarks in a release: "Among the freedoms which the Nazis have destroyed, none has been more cynically perverted, more brutally stamped upon than the Freedom of Art. For not only must the artist of Nazi Germany bow to political tyranny, he must also conform to the personal taste of that great art connoisseur Adolph Hitler, the feeble and conventional taste of a mediocre Viennese art student of thirty years, frozen by failure into paranoiac bigotry. But German artists of spirit and integrity have refused to conform. They have gone into exile or slipped into anxious obscurity."

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July

In order to make purchases under the terms of the Inter-American Fund, A. goes to Mexico and Cuba with Edgar Kaufmann, who has resided at length in Mexico and knows Spanish. In both countries they visit artists and acquire works. In Cuba A. meets Maria Luisa Gomes Mena, enthusiastic collector and patroness of the arts. Also meets the critic Gomez Sicre.

September

German army begins attack on Stalingrad, which continues steadily into the next year.

October 6

James Thrall Soby, Philip Goodwin, and A. are elected to Executive Committee.

October

Peggy Guggenheim opens her gallery, Art of This Century, at 30 West Fifty-seventh Street. Designed by Frederick Kiesler, it has wooden forearms projecting from the walls to hold the pictures. She shows the works of such avant-garde European artists as Giacometti, Arp, and Picasso, which are in her permanent collection, and puts on temporary exhibitions of the young, unknown Americans Jackson Pollock, Robert Motherwell, and William Baziotes, for each of whom she provides his first one-man show.

October 23

Battle of El Alamein begins. British Eighth Army under the command of General Bernard Montgomery launches air and artillery assault against Marshal Erwin Rommel's Afrika Korps.

November 7-8

Allied armies land in North Africa under the command of Major General Dwight D. Eisenhower. American and British forces are joined by the French army and the "Free French" forces of General Charles de Gaulle.

December 15

At lunch at the University Club, Stephen Clark informs A. that unless he resumes his literary activities his usefulness to the museum will end. He proposes making James Soby assistant director in charge of "artistic matters" at a salary of $7,500 a year.

December 16

Nancy Newhall, who has taken her husband's place as curator of the Department of Photography while he is serving overseas, remarks in a memo to A. and Soby that Frances Hawkins, secretary of the museum, is inefficient and procrastinating and is manipulated by Clark and Abbott.

December 22-January 10, 1943

"Joe Milone's Shoe Shine Stand." Brought to A.'s attention by the sculptor Louise Nevelson, this structure is exhibited for the Christmas season because it is so sparkling. The trustees are outraged.

1943

January 11

James Thrall Soby appointed assistant director to take over matters having to do with "artistic activities." At the moment his time is absorbed by the Armed Forces Program. For this he has organized "The Arts in Therapy" exhibition (February 3-March 7).

February 2

German Sixth Army surrenders in Stalingrad.

February 10-March 21

"Americans 1943: Realists and Magic-Realists." Includes *The Eternal City* by Peter

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Blume and trompe l'oeil works by William Harnett. Catalogue by Dorothy Miller, the exhibition's director, and Lincoln Kirstein.

March 31-June 6

"The Latin-American Collection of the Museum of Modern Art." Exhibition consists of works acquired with funds provided by Nelson Rockefeller's Inter-American Fund. Lincoln Kirstein is responsible for the selection.

April 28

A. writes to Lincoln Kirstein: "I am working on two publications . . . . one is a 'Brief Survey,' perhaps 32 pages in all, on modern painting. The other is a short history of modern painting and sculpture—nothing very mysterious or original." The latter is the book that Stephen Clark and Mrs. Rockefeller expect him to produce; it will never get written. The brief survey will be published in the fall.

June 2

A. pleads with John Abbott, now executive director, to raise the salaries of his small staff, most especially that of Dorothy Miller. He emphasizes that she desperately needs a secretary and that she is less valuable to the museum without one. Abbott is supposed to take up these matters with Stephen Clark. Fearing that he won't transmit the urgency of the request, A. and Soby communicate directly with Clark, who responds by a telegram sent to A.'s home, which says, in part, "There will never be a disposition to discriminate against the Department of Painting and Sculpture."

June 19

Museum directors above the age of thirty-eight are solicited by the Armed Forces in order to be trained as monuments officers for the protection and preservation of museums, works of art, and archives in occupied territories.

A. is interviewed by Major R. L. Crawford, because he is being proposed as a candidate for a commission in the Military Government Division as a staff officer. A. is tempted to accept but feels obliged to consult Stephen Clark, who remarks that he is "more useful in the museum."

A. writes for further information. He states that he is not concerned with administration, although he has been director of a museum since 1930, and that he does not have experience in the preservation of antiquities. In other words, in obedience to Clark, he disqualifies himself for the commission. Accordingly, a Major John N. Hanes advises him not to apply.

A. is of two minds about this offer. He is intensely interested in the war and would find it exciting to be a monuments officer. On the other hand, ever since 1940 he has been anxious about the museum and is afraid to leave it without his guiding hand.

June 23-August 1

"The Paintings of Morris Hirschfield." Exhibition directed by Sidney Janis. The work of this naïve Brooklyn painter—many nude women, all with two left feet—outrages the trustees, especially Stephen Clark. The recent exhibition of the work of Henri Rousseau (March 18-May 3, 1942) has not prepared them sufficiently to synthesize Hirschfield's pairs of left feet with a similar circumstance in Egyptian art.

Summer

Life in Greensboro is restricted by wartime limitations. Meat and butter are rationed, but worst of all is the lack of gasoline, so that one moves around on foot or bicycle. For news one is dependent on radio. It is hard to get newspapers.

A. spends his time writing his brief survey; it is a great challenge because he so intensely wants to make modern art accessible. Striving for the simplest, most intelligible form, he forces farmers, housewives, schoolchildren, as well as professors or

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11th Summer Season

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intellectuals, to read some of his text or the description of a painting he plans to illustrate. If he feels that they do not understand what he is saying he rewrites and tries again.

July 10

The Allies' assault, combining British, American, and Canadian forces, begins in Sicily.

September

Back in New York after Labor Day, A. sees to the publication of the brief survey, now entitled *What Is Modern Painting?* (nicknamed WIMP by the staff).

October 16

It is a gray Saturday. There are no plans. A. seems listless. M. prevails on him to go to an afternoon movie. On the way home he tells her that in the morning mail he had received a letter from Mr. Clark asking him to resign.

The letter is three pages long, single-spaced. The main grievance is that A. has not produced the book on modern art that Mr. Clark and Mrs. Rockefeller have ordered him to write:

> The amount of time you are able to devote to unimportant matters and to philosophical discussions in the course of a presumably busy day has been a constant source of wonderment to me . . . . In these difficult times the relatively unimportant work you are doing does not justify a salary of $12,000 a year . . . . In the interest of the Museum you should assume the position of Advisory Director at a salary of $6,000 a year . . . . This letter has been written with the approval of a group of our more active and influential Trustees, but without the knowledge of any member of the staff.*

The effect on A. is one of nausea and contempt for the obtuseness of Clark, who obviously has no understanding of the scope or purpose of the museum. M. is torn between shock and outrage at this heartless dismissal. Fearful for the future, she consults an indigent friend and asks, "How does one live more cheaply?" The friend advises, "You take a Madison Avenue bus, not the Fifth."** In the house there is a sense of nightmare. A. won't go out. He won't dress. He won't eat. He sits at his desk formulating answers to Stephen Clark.

October 21

A. writes his mentor, Professor Sachs, still teaching in Cambridge, who has followed A.'s career step by step. A. proposes answering Clark's complaints one by one and sketches out an answer in self-justification. Despite his acuteness, Sachs does not suspect that Clark's letter conceals his fear and resentment of A.†

October 26

James Thrall Soby is named director of the Department of Painting and Sculpture; Dorothy Miller is made curator.

René d'Harnoncourt is appointed director of the Department of Manual Industry, a new division of the museum, and vice president in charge of foreign affairs.

October 27

At the museum, A. addresses the staff:

> During recent years the museum has grown very rapidly. It has added new departments and

* Recently discovered documents indicate that Philip Goodwin was the only trustee who hesitated to approve this measure.

** The fare on Fifth Avenue was ten cents; it was five on Madison.

† There were no photocopying machines in those days. Had Sachs read the entire Clark letter instead of only excerpts, he would have become suspicious. It is extraordinary that in this emotionally alarming predicament consultation and advice is done not by telephone but in writing. The correspondence is preserved in the archives of the Fogg Art Museum in Cambridge and MOMA.

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generally expanded its program. Because of this and because of the War our staff has been changing continually, some of our more experienced members going into war jobs or the armed services. As a result much of the museum's work has been done under heavy pressure in an atmosphere of emergency.

As Director of the museum during this period I have felt under special obligation to help maintain our standards, to give, when I could, a sense of continuity to our work, and to help our various departments and undertakings when that help seemed urgently needed. The museum collection, particularly in the Department of Painting and Sculpture, has also taken much of my time.

Consequently I have not been able to give enough attention to the book on modern art which I have been planning and which the Trustees have long wanted me to write.

Now in order to find time and peace of mind for writing, it seems best that I should take the position of Advisory Director. As Advisory Director I shall no longer be involved in administrative or curatorial responsibilities, and shall work as much as possible outside the Museum.

My curatorial work will from now on be in the capable hands of Mr. Soby who I am happy to tell you has been appointed Director of Painting and Sculpture. My responsibilities as Director of the Museum will be taken over by a small Committee of Trustees. I shall continue to serve on the Board of Trustees and on various committees.

Though these changes may come to you as a surprise I would like to ask you as my friends and loyal members of the staff to accept them and go on with your work.

October 28

The museum issues a release announcing that A. has been made advisory director.

November 3

Mrs. Rockefeller writes to assure A. that his demotion is for his own good. He is more hurt by this than he was by Clark's letter. He has been devoted to Mrs. Rockefeller. They have always been in harmony concerning the museum, its workings, its purposes and aims; they have enjoyed a close, even intimate, personal relationship.*

November 11

William A. M. Burden is elected a trustee.

November 12

John Abbott refuses to devise working space for A., who is not allowed to use his old office. This is the first time that A. becomes conscious of Abbott's ill will.

November 17-February 6, 1944

"Romantic Painting in America." The exhibition is selected by Soby, who writes the catalogue. A.'s preface makes it clear that this exhibition is part of a cycle presenting various movements in modern art.

November 29

The first edition of *What Is Modern Painting?* is issued.** A. sends a copy to Professor Sachs and one to William Lieberman, who is in Cambridge doing graduate work at Harvard.

December 8

At a meeting of the Advisory Committee, A. reviews the collection and suggests what gaps should be filled.

---

* By 1948 he had forgiven her, and at the time of her death he wrote Nelson a letter of condolence in which, among other things, he praised her as an able statesman. One has the impression that he had come to feel that in the long run she was right in saying that it was better for him not to be the director of the museum.

** The booklet goes into countless editions and is still on sale in 1987, by which time fifteen million copies have been sold. By agreement with the museum, A. receives no royalties.

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A. has no office and stays mostly at home. Soby acts as intermediary and confers at length with Stephen Clark. Soby is a collector and wealthy. He can speak man to man with Clark. He makes him understand the value of A. to the museum, although he cannot make him understand what the museum is all about. Clark's attitude begins to shift, and little by little the two of them begin to devise an acceptable position for A.

1944

Soby's mission is to save A. for the museum; he must invent a position that Clark will be able to approve. There are endless conversations but never a face-to-face meeting between Clark and A.

January 15

The Museum Collections: A Brief Report issued. In it A. expresses the hope that the entire collection will be displayed on two floors of the museum by 1946. In the preface he sets forth a reformulation of the purpose of the museum:

> . . . Before restating the purpose of the Museum Collections it might be well to consider the purpose of the Museum as a whole.
>
> Fourteen years ago in applying for a charter as an educational institution the Museum stated that its purpose was "to encourage and develop the study of the modern arts and the application of such arts to manufacture and practical life." In this sentence "study" is conspicuous. Doubtless it was used to reassure the Board of Regents as to the Museum's serious educational intentions. Without in any way compromising these often quoted intentions I should like to propose a new statement based upon a deeper and more active meaning of education than is implied by the word "study." This statement would be:
>
> *The primary purpose of the Museum is to help people enjoy, understand and use the visual arts of our time.*
>
> By *enjoyment* I mean the pleasure and recreation offered by the direct experience of works of art.
>
> By *helping to understand* I mean answering the questions raised by works of art such as why? how? who? when? where? what for? But not so much to add to the questioner's store of information as to increase his comprehension.
>
> By *helping to use* I mean showing how the arts may take a more important place in everyday life, both spiritual and practical.
>
> Obviously these three activities—enjoying, understanding, using—should be thought of as interdependent. Each confirms, enriches and supports the others. Together they indicate the Museum's primary function which is educational in the broadest, least academic sense . . . .
>
> The Museum has many other purposes but they are, or should be secondary. Some of these secondary functions are:
>
> 1. Encouraging and supporting the artist (yes, but getting the public to act as patron is far more important and effective than direct patronage).
> 2. Honoring national achievement in the arts (but without cultural chauvinism).
> 3. Encouraging international understanding and goodwill through the arts (but with our eyes on sound, enduring, long term results, free from political or diplomatic preoccupations).
> 4. Collecting and preserving works of art (with constant revision and vigilant concern for the purpose of these collections).
> 5. Encouraging the study of the arts in schools and colleges (not forgetting that the Museum is always concerned first of all with the general public).
> 6. Advising commercial manufacturers and producers (but taking every precaution to preserve both actual *and apparent* independence and impartiality).
> 7. Serving government agencies (especially during the war, but great care must be taken to maintain standards and avoid too great absorption of the Museum's energies).
>
> These are all important functions but if any one of them is overemphasized the balance, and in some cases the integrity of the Museum may suffer. And almost all such secondary

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functions may in the end best be served by concentrating upon the main problem, namely the relationship between the arts and the people in general.

Definitions are sometimes clarified by exclusions as well as inclusions. In defining the Museum's purpose it might be well to state that this does not involve:

1. The art of the past (that is art previous to 50 or 60 years ago) except when emergencies, chronic neglect by others, or specific educational purposes make certain exceptions desirable.
2. Science, technology, medicine, politics, etc. (except during the war). The Museum should keep to the arts.
3. Productions of works of art. The Museum should not itself produce works of art, at least until it has brought its present program of inducing interest in the arts nearer to completion.
4. Training professional artists. The Museum should train the consumer of art not the producer.

January 22

Allied troops land in Anzio, diverting German forces at Cassino.

Of his own accord and on his own time, William S. Lieberman, now on the staff of the museum, puts together a bibliography of A.'s writings. He hopes this may be helpful if A. decides to seek other employment.

February 3

A. delivers the eulogy at Mondrian's memorial service.

February 16-May 10

"Modern Drawings." Exhibition organized by Monroe Wheeler.

February 25

Clark's tone has changed. In a letter to A. he remarks, "Personally I am always in favor of having you write as often as possible as you write very well and I am sure that your real vocation lies in that direction . . . . You certainly did an excellent job on 'What is Modern Painting.'" A tentative suggestion is made that A. might be offered the responsibility of the museum collections.

February 26

As a result, A. writes:

Dear Mr. Clark,

While we are discussing your proposal that I should devote myself in the future to the Museum Collections I should like to ask you to consider a personal problem which has been on my mind for some time. Because it concerns my salary I prefer to write to you directly and privately about it although I have mentioned it to Dick Abbott.

Fourteen years ago I agreed to become director of the Museum at a salary of $12,000. A few weeks later this amount was reduced to $10,000 and then, during three or four years in the mid-thirties to $9,000. In 1939 my income from the Museum was raised from $10,000 to $12,000 with certain minor increases for pension or temporary "cost of living" increases. It is evident that after fourteen years, my basic salary remains at about the figure offered me when I first accepted a position in the Museum as an inexperienced young man of 27.

Since then, as we all know, times have changed: taxes and cost of living have gone up a great deal, especially affecting salaried people like myself. Furthermore at the age of 42 I have greater personal responsibilities, made more serious by the fact that the Museum tends to make far greater demands on the health and energies of its staff while offering less security than is usual in educational institutions.

Although the position that you offer me is more limited in responsibilities than that of my former appointment, the direction of the Museum Collections seems to me, as I study it, a task of great difficulty requiring a very special kind of knowledge and experience which I believe I have. In any case it seems to me to be a more exacting and responsible job than those, say, of the top curators at the

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Metropolitan Museum who are paid, I believe, $12,000.

Because of the nature of my position and because of my past services to the Museum I would like to ask you whether you do not think $15,000 would be a fair salary.*

Looking back over nearly 15 years it is hard for me to gauge my value to the Museum. Much of this value is, I believe, intangible, though some of the things I have been responsible for, notably the exhibitions and catalogs, were often conspicuously successful and even brought in considerable amounts of money. Sometimes I have felt that they were overrated in relation to my other work but they did, in any case, set a certain standard which is everywhere recognized—a standard which I tried to maintain through editing or general supervision so long as I was responsible.

Some of my other services have been less obvious, perhaps because they have not come under the heading of visible "production." One of the most important of these is the general plan of the Museum which I proposed in 1929 before the Museum opened and have worked on ever since. This proposal went far beyond the "Luxembourg" idea of a painting and sculpture museum, to include architecture and the various arts of design and the popular arts of photography and the film. Thanks to the courage and generosity of the Trustees most of these departments are now established and the dream of fourteen years ago is now either realized or a definite part of our future program.

More specific has been my effort from the beginning to keep alive and then develop the idea of a great collection. This was not easy, for even after the stimulus of the Bliss bequest the loan exhibitions continued to absorb the Museum's time and money. When, after eight years, we were at last able to buy actively, all the major purchases with two exceptions and most of the minor ones, were made on my initiative. I believe it is not too much to say that the purchases and exchanges which were made on my recommendation have increased in value more rapidly than those made by any other American museum during the same period.

I hope in the future to devote my energies to the direction and increase of the Museum Collections which you and the other Trustees have so generously made possible. I think that I could undertake this with much more confidence and peace of mind if I could feel a greater sense of security. I have never before suggested an increase in my salary and I do so now with real reluctance. I feel that I can count on your friendly consideration of this question while you are studying the problem as a whole.

Sincerely,
Alfred

February 27

Mr. Clark responds:

My dear Alfred:—

I received your letter of February 26th last evening. In view of existing conditions and all that has happened I am amazed at its contents. I shall submit your letter to the members of the Executive Committee and shall inform you of their decision in due course.

Sincerely yours,
Stephen C. Clark

March 7

A. retracts his demand for a salary of $15,000 with the following letter:

Dear Mr. Clark,

I have been thinking over your reply to my letter of February 26 concerning my salary. I am sorry that I should have struck a discordant note just when the discussions about the Museum collection were drawing to a harmonious

* A. was stingy with the museum money. He paid M.'s passages, and at hotels he paid the difference between a single room and a double. There was no per diem. M. kept accounts of taxis, lunches, snacks, dinner, and more than one Fourteenth of July was spent in room 42 doing accounts for the museum treasurer. When, after the war, Peter Selz was staying at the Saint James et d'Albany, A. asked him "Do you have a per diem?" and Peter said, "Yes, twenty-five dollars a day."

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conclusion. When I showed a draught of the letter to Dick Abbott and Jim Soby several days before I sent it I did not get the impression that they thought my suggestion unreasonable. However I now understand that the financial problems which you have to face are more difficult than ever. I realize too that my request might well lead to other complications of a similar nature. Therefore, while I appreciate your willingness to bring my request before the Executive Committee, I would not want you to do so unless it already had your own approval.

Believe me there is nothing I want more than to work in harmony with you for the good of the Museum as a whole. It seems to me that when the proposal for the Museum Collections is presented to the Executive Committee on Thursday, those of us who have worked on the plan for so many years should be united in a common enthusiasm. I want to emphasize that I would not want any personal problem of mine to stand in the way of the Committee's approving the enterprise in which we are all so deeply interested.

Sincerely,
Alfred

April 1

In the early months of 1944 Edgar Kaufmann, stationed in New Guinea, had belatedly received news of A.'s demotion; he writes Clark and sends him his resignation. Before his letter is passed on, A. intercepts it and writes him reassuringly.

April issue of the museum's *Bulletin* is devoted to a consideration of modern Cuban painters, written by A.

May 2

A list of suggested acquisitions is brought before the Acquisitions Committee. On the recommendation of A. the museum purchases Jackson Pollock's *She-Wolf* (1943). This is the first work of Pollock to be acquired by a museum.

Clark is constantly anxious about the finances of the museum. While Mrs. Rockefeller continues to contribute, Nelson Rockefeller and John Hay Whitney are absent. With no opposition from the trustees, Clark organizes a sale of works from the collection.

May 11

Sale at the Parke-Bernet Galleries. "Notable Modern Paintings and Sculptures that Are the Property of the Museum [of Modern Art], With Additions from Members of the Board of Trustees and Advisory Committee." The catalogue states that the proceeds from the museum's sale of "certain of its nineteenth-century works" are to be applied to the purchase of twentieth-century works.

The Acquisitions Committee is replaced by the Committee on the Museum Collections.

June 4

Rome falls.

June 6

Allied forces land in Normandy. D-day.

June

In a letter to the museum Samuel A. Lewisohn, a trustee since 1929 and owner of a great collection of nineteenth-century paintings, expresses his concern if the museum were to ignore completely the Impressionists and states that the museum "should encourage collectors of the latter part of the 19th century, as well as of the 20th" to make bequests to its collection.*

* As a result of the sale and the advanced nature of the new purchases, Lewisohn would in time change his will and bequeath his paintings to the Metropolitan Museum, where they now hang in the André Meyer Gallery. Clark himself withdrew from the Committee on the Museum Collections in 1951 when A. proposed the purchase of Giacometti's *Chariot*. He did not resign as a trustee, he simply lost interest. From then on his preference shifted to the Metropolitan.

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July

Emily Genauer's article, "The Fur-lined Museum," a critique of the buying and exhibition policies of the museum, is published in *Harper's*.* It arouses a stormy controversy and produces intense polemics. Many colleagues rise to A.'s defense and deplore his forced resignation at the museum.

Summer

A. and M. are guests for the first time of Dorothy Miller and her husband, Holger Cahill, in Stockbridge. At Tanglewood in the intermission of an afternoon concert A., M., and Dorothy Miller meet for the first time Lilly van Ameringen, who has just graduated from Radcliffe (now Mrs. Douglas Auchincloss, a trustee of the museum).

Severe gas rationing continues; from Stockbridge A. and M. get to Greensboro by public buses.

October

The Committee on the Museum Collections considers acquisition of important European works of art that have been unavailable because of the war. During the meeting A. remarks, "Six days ago it became possible to write to Paris, even though on postcards only."**

Under the heading "Appointments," the November issue of the museum's *Bulletin* carries the notice:

> The Chairman of the Board of Trustees announces that Alfred H. Barr, Jr., has accepted appointment to the Chair of Modern Painting and Sculpture which was created at the Board meeting on May 11, 1944. Mr. Barr's duties will be to carry on research and publication in modern painting and sculpture with particular reference to the Museum's Collection. He will have no curatorial responsibilities such as acquisition and care but beginning with the summer of 1945 he will be in charge of exhibiting the collection of Painting and Sculpture. He will be available also for consultation and advice.

For several years the museum has no director.† A. starts work on *Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art,* which is of course based in part on the great Picasso exhibition of 1939. He is anxious to confirm certain facts and dates. It is still wartime, he grasps at every straw. When correspondence with France is again possible, he continues to interrogate Sabartés and the sculptor Mary Callery, who is collecting Picasso. There is a sense of tension as A. strains to keep up to the minute with the latest pictures only a few months before publication date. He wants the illustrations to match the text, so he cuts or adds according to the needs of the page.‡ In the introduction one will feel the anxiety of war and the premonition of the nuclear boom.

* Emily Genauer, "The Fur-lined Museum," *Harper's* (July 1944), pp. 129-38.

** This was of paramount importance to A. even beyond the interests of the collection. For his new book on Picasso he had many questions of date that could be straightened out only with the help of Sabartés or Henri-Pierre Roché (journalist and noted intermediary between painters and collectors) or whomever he could reach in France.

† René d'Harnoncourt will be named director in October, 1949.

‡ Although the fruit of new research and critical thought, the book looks like a catalogue. At the time of printing, the shortage of paper was still critical, and the book was set in italic type in order to save space. Subsequent editions have not been able to undo this because of the close-knit relation between text and illustration.

Editor's note: *In the period following 1944, Alfred Barr published his two major works,* Picasso: Fifty Years of His Art *(1946) and* Matisse: His Art and His Public *(1951). (On the basis of the Picasso book, the art history faculty at Harvard gave Barr his long delayed Ph.D.) From 1947 until his retirement in 1967 he served as the chairman of Museum Collections at MOMA.*

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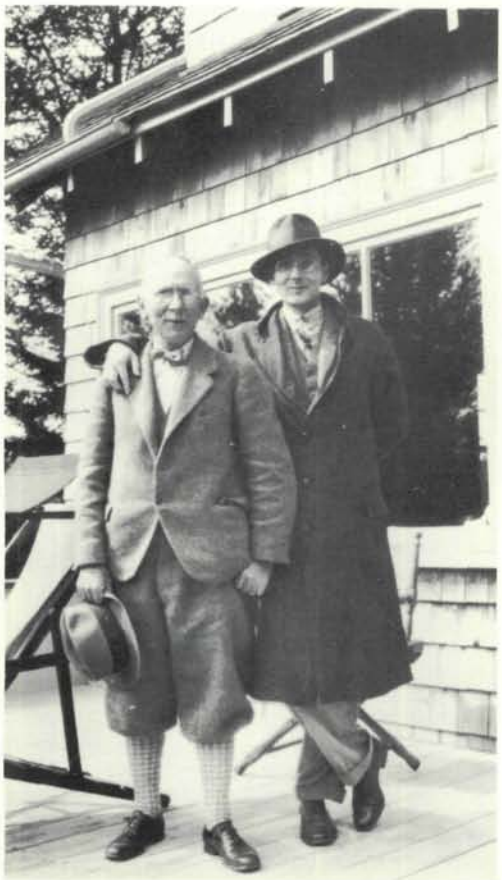
"Our Campaigns": an album

Below: Alfred Barr with his father in Greensboro, Vermont, early 1930s.

Right: Alfred Barr at age sixteen.

Below right: The living room at 2 Beekman Place, circa 1932.



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Margaret Scolari Barr in the Thirties.

On the Orient Express in 1932. Photograph by Alfred Barr.

Alfred Barr, Philip Johnson, and Margaret Scolari Barr in Cortona in 1932.

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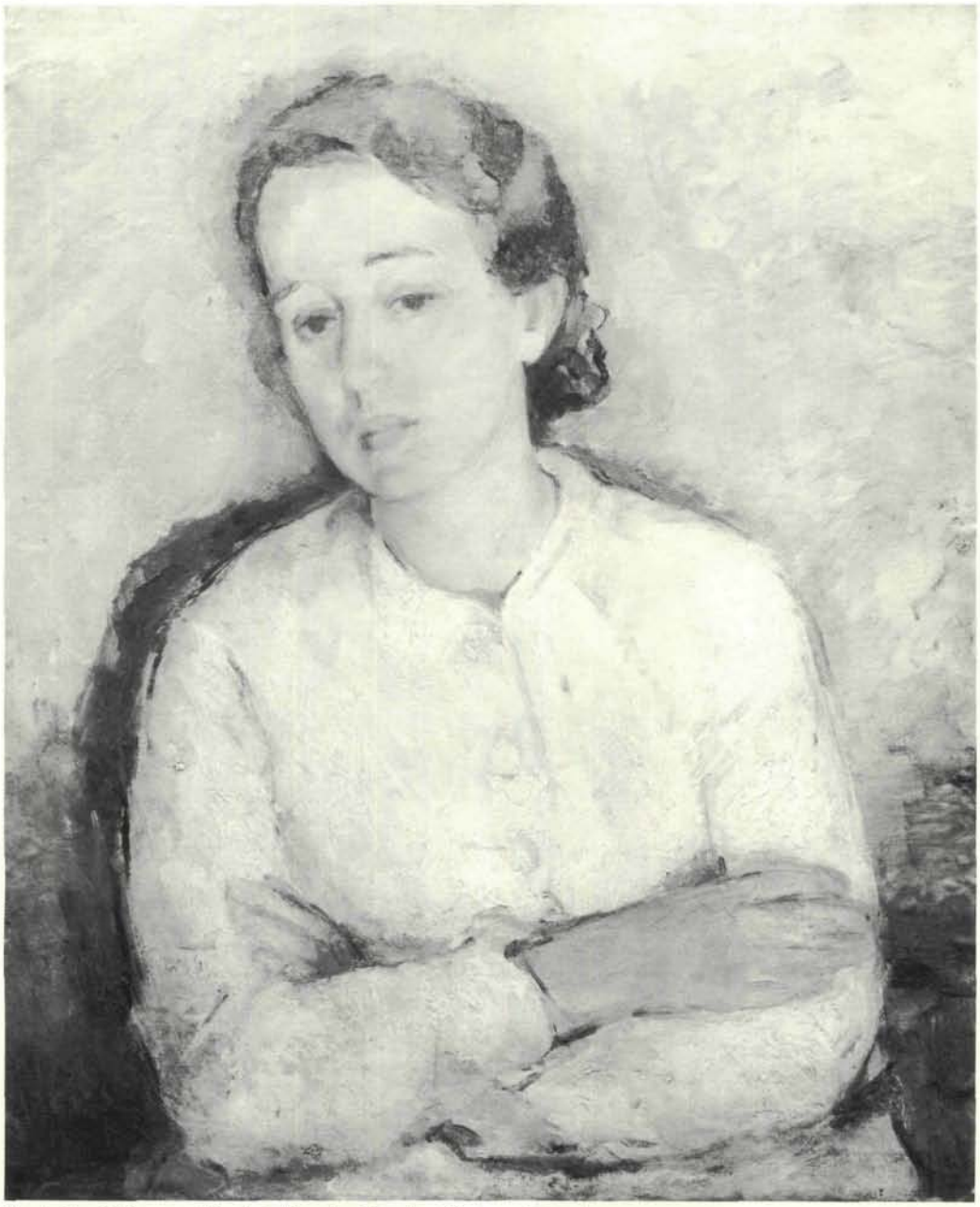

Portrait of Margaret Scolari Barr by Maurice Grosser (1932).

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DEPARTMENT OF ART, WELLESLEY COLLEGE

A Course of Five Lectures on Modern Art

By Professor Alfred H. Barr, Jr.

April and May 1929

Farnsworth Museum

I April 17 MODERN PAINTING: THE IDEAL OF A "PURE" ART.

The important tendencies in painting of twenty years ago: the neo-renaissance in Derain; the decorative in Matisse; the cubistic in Picasso. The formalist attitude toward Medieval, Renaissance, and Baroque painting. The immediate antecedents of cubism: Degas, Gauguin and the "angle shot"; Seurat and the theory of pure design; Cézanne's natural geometry; abstraction in primitive art. The development of cubism in Paris. Kandinsky and abstract expressionism in Germany. The final purification of painting: Mondriaan in Holland; the suprematists in Russia. André Lhote and the new academic. The influence of abstract painting upon architecture, the theatre, the films, photography, decorative arts, typographical layout, commercial art. Conclusion: the "demon of the absolute."

II April 24 MODERN PAINTING: THE DISINTEGRATION SINCE CUBISM.

The pseudo-classic mannerist, (Picasso). The "new objectivity," (Otto Dix). New adventures in appreciation; the child, the savage, the lunatic, and the dream. The "metaphysical," (de Chirico). The fantastic and grotesque, (Chagall and Paul Klee). The *sur-réalistes* as the ultimate devotees of spontaneity. Conclusion: Descartes versus Rousseau.

III May 1 MODERN AMERICAN PAINTING: A CROSS-SECTION.

The impressionist generation. The Cézannists. Abstraction. The Precisionists. The "sentimental" and "literary." The American scene. What is "American" painting?

IV May 8 THE *BAUHAUS* AT DESSAU.

Post-war Germany. Towards re-integration. The Bauhaus as a paradox. Walter Gropius the visionary; the executive; the architect. The principles of constructivism. The painters Kandinsky, Feininger and Klee as "expressionist counterpoint." The curriculum: Material, Technique and Form, (Albers); architecture, (Gropius, Hannes-Meyer); furniture and decorative arts; photography, (Moholy-Nagy); theatre and ballet, (Schlemmer); typography and posters, (Bayer). The Bauhaus as a national and international influence.

V May 22 THE *LYEF* GROUP OF MOSCOW.

The Artist and the Marxian ideal. "Down with aestheticism." "Chicagoism" and the cult of materialistic efficiency in a collectivist society. The fall of futurism and the rise of constructivism. Literature, (Tretyakov); the theatre, (Meyerhold); the kino, (Eisenstein); typography, photography, photomontage, and the "death of painting," (Rodchenko and Stepanova). The triumph of the artist.

The announcement for Alfred Barr's Wellesley lectures just prior to the opening of the Museum of Modern Art.

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Varian Fry (lower right) with André Breton behind, Jacqueline Breton, Max Ernst (upper left), and André Masson.

Bauhaus Stairway, by Oskar Schlemmer. (Collection Museum of Modern Art.) Gift of Philip Johnson. (See page 34.)

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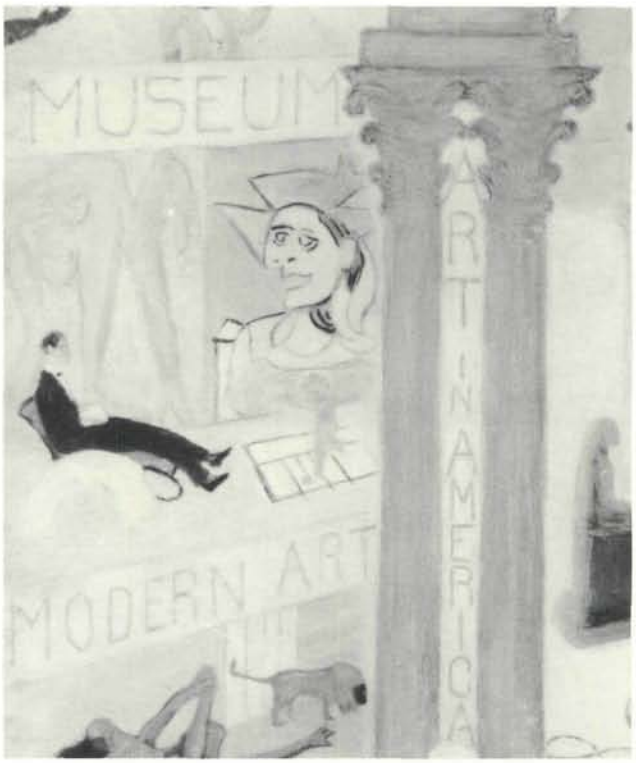
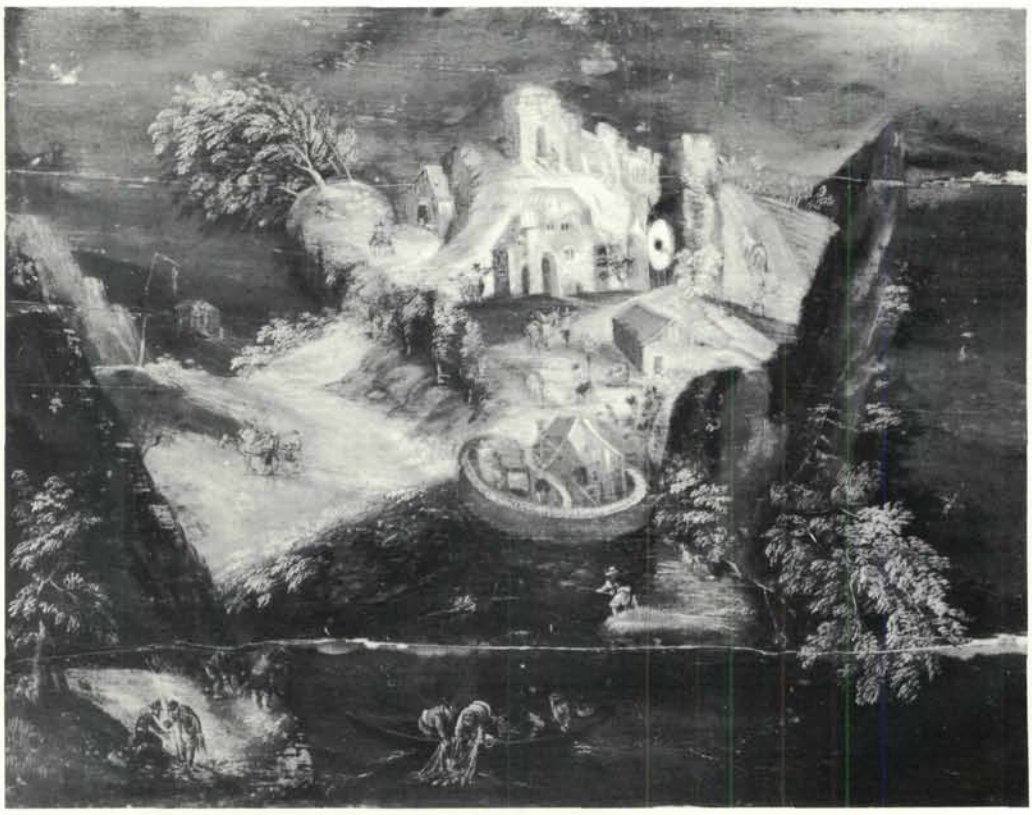


Detail, depicting Alfred Barr at MOMA, from Florine Stettheimer's *The Cathedrals of Art* (1942). (Collection Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

The "double image" painting, school of Arcimboldo, acquired by Alfred Barr in 1931. (See page 27.)



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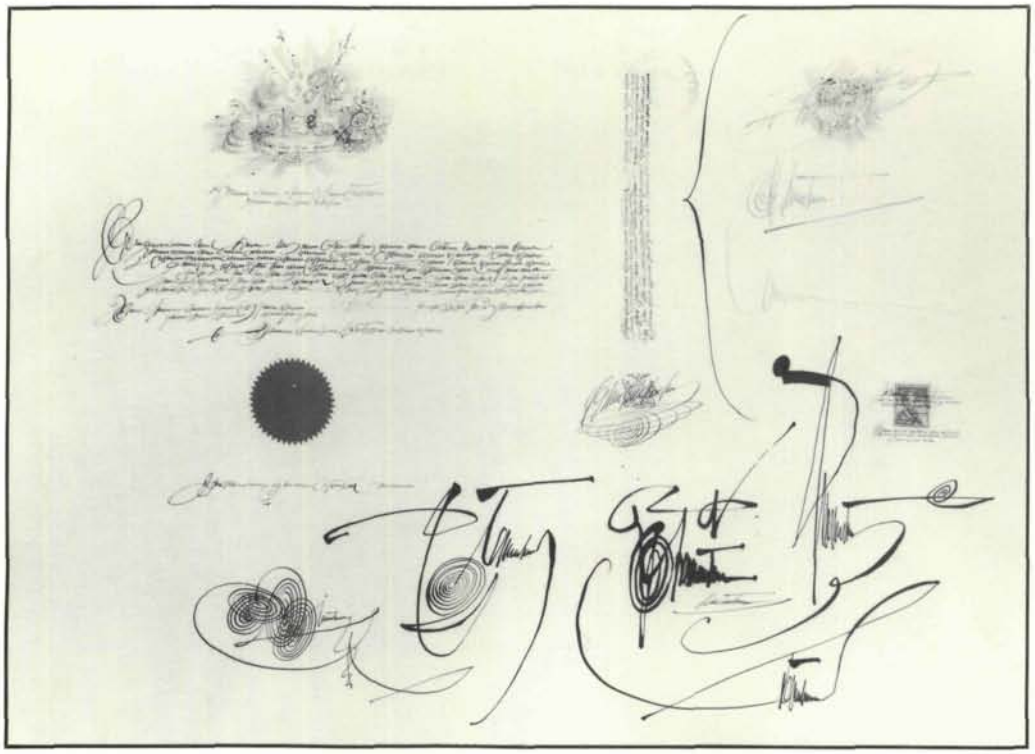
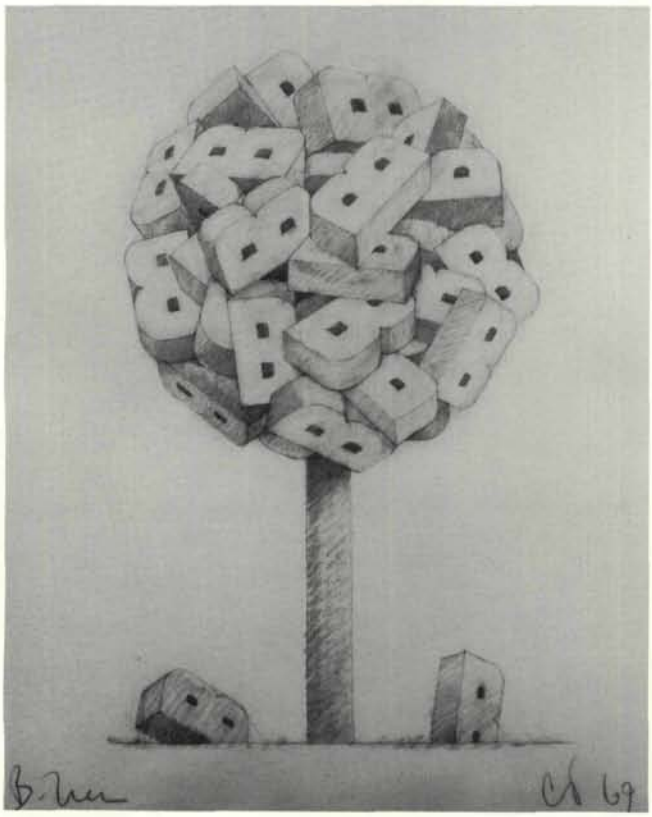


Saul Steinberg's "diploma" for Alfred Barr upon his "graduation" from the Museum of Modern Art (1967).



The B Tree, Claes Oldenburg's tribute to Alfred Barr upon his retirement from MOMA in 1967.

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Margaret and Alfred Barr at the Venice Biennale in 1948.

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WILLIAM KIENBUSCH "Night Field Winter #4" casein on paper, 31 x 40", 1965

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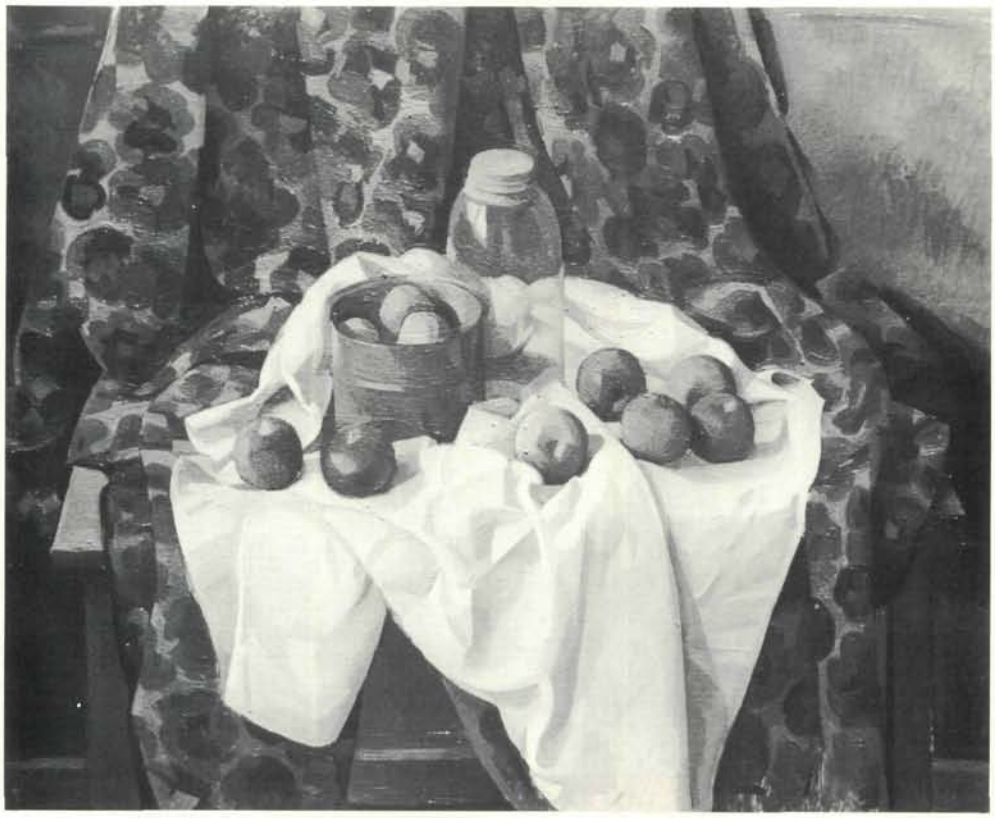

Still Life with Onions and Mason Jar, 1986, 29 x 36 inches

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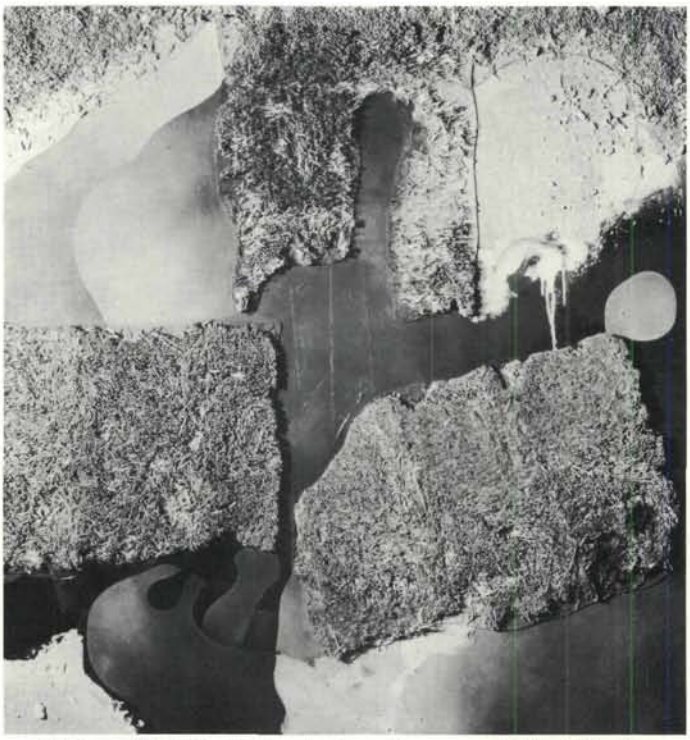

Earth and Stubble, 1976, mixed media on wood, 78 x 78 inches

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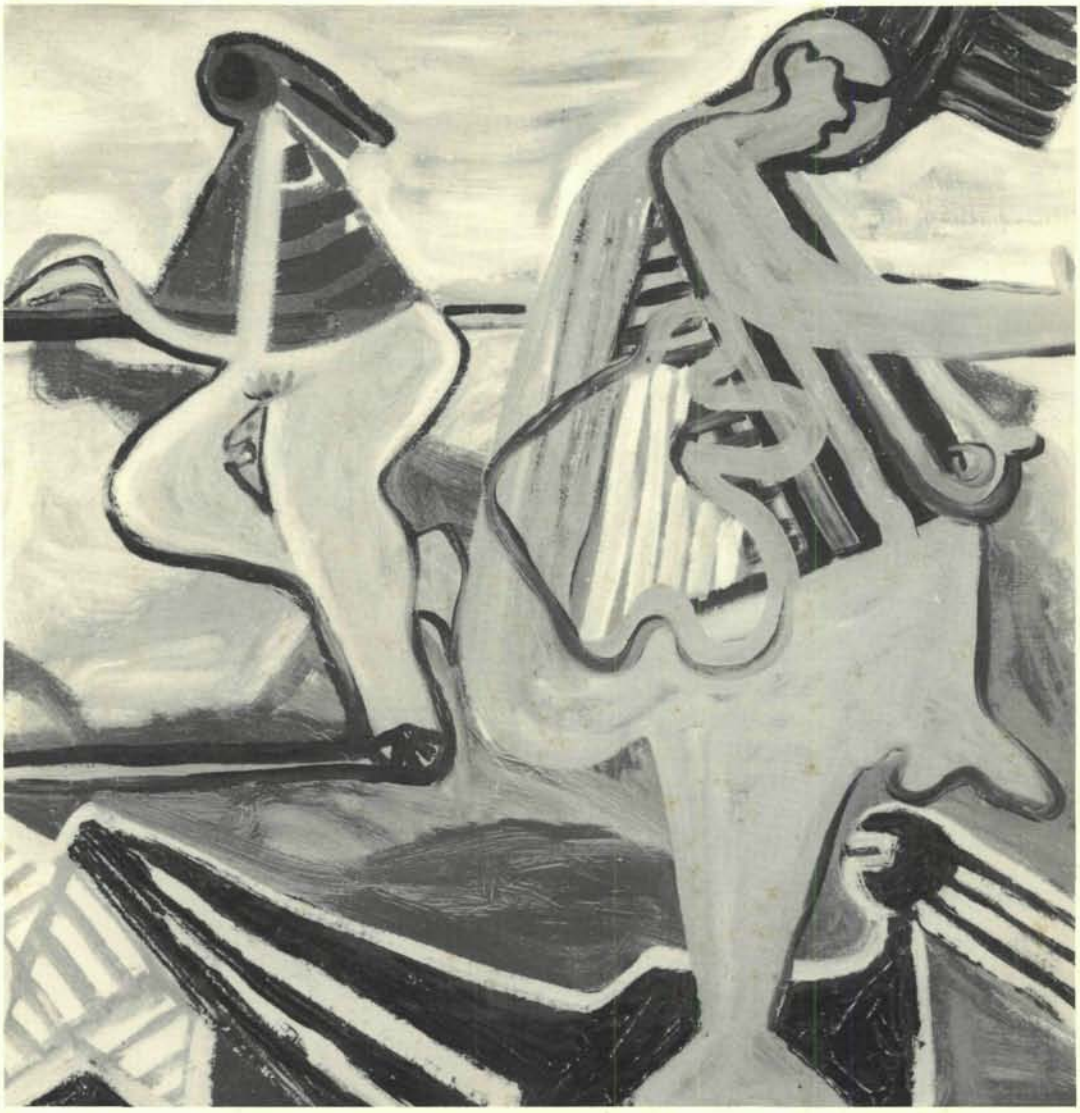

David Smith Untitled (Bathers), 1934. Oil on canvas, 17¼ × 17 in. Signed and dated

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